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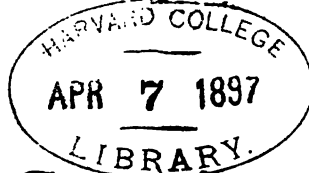
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THE MONTH.

HON. CARL SCHURZ discusses in another column, with his characteristic vigor and directness, the propriety and practicability of a law which will require political officers who are vested with the power of removing subordinates, to file among the public records of their respective offices a "reason" for every removal. It has long been an argument with persons who opposed any legal restriction upon the power of removal (on constitutional and other grounds) that proper restraints thrown around the power of appointment, preventing the choice of particular persons to fill particular vacancies, would destroy the main incentive to the removal of diligent, efficient and inoffensive public servants. But experience seems to have proved that, although the competitive system renders personal and partisan appointments difficult, and a fair observance of the law would render them nearly impossible, yet opportunities may still be found or forced, even in the classified service, for the dangerous exercise of this form of discrimination. Moreover, although the rules promulgated under the Pendleton Act expressly forbid partisan discrimination, the resort to it, in the absence of the publicity indulged in by our late Baltimore Postmaster, is difficult to detect or punish. If the plan proposed by Mr. Schurz is capable of adoption, this evil would be directly and effectually met. When the subject was previously discussed in our columns, we ventured to cast some doubts upon the possibility of a practical enforcement of such a provision, while heartily endorsing the importance of checking the evasion at which it was aimed. Mr. Schurz has met our *a priori* objections upon this point with the practical results of his own public experience when at the head of the Department of the Interior. Those of our readers who remember the success which attended his patriotic and intelligent efforts to improve the efficiency of the important branch of the public service then under his charge will be unwilling to question the soundness or value of any of his conclusions.

THE significant and important movement lately set on foot by prominent and influential members of the Democratic party in Maryland, with the avowed purpose to recover back the management and direction of the party machinery from men who have unlawfully usurped its functions and converted its powers to improper and criminal uses, will awaken the prompt attention and interest of every friend of decent government in our midst, whatever may happen to be his political affiliations. While the movement is distinctly a partisan one, and as such invites the direct co-operation only of those connected with the Democratic party, it may nevertheless be based upon that healthy form of partisanship which this journal has always consistently defended, and may be the product of a manly and independent spirit which deserves the sympathy and respect, and we hope will eventually merit the support, of all public-spirited people. Whatever may be the future of the movement, its first steps have been taken under the guidance of men whose names ought to be a sufficient guarantee of its good faith and

patriotic purposes. This journal hardly needs to assure its readers that any vigorous movement undertaken by earnest and capable citizens to rescue the politics of the State and city from the slough into which they have fallen will be warmly welcomed and, to the extent of its ability, supported by it. No fault can be found with the argument of the preliminary "address to the Democratic voters of the State of Maryland." It simply states, and perhaps understates, the crying political evils of the hour, and urges the application of well-known political remedies. It properly makes fair elections the paramount issue. This object must be attained before public measures of any moment can be attained or even aimed at. If a reorganized Democracy will lead the way to such a goal, the members of all other parties can afford to bury for a time partisan ambitions and cheer it in the race. If the movement but half fulfils its present promise, nothing less than hearty support and encouragement of it will be the part of patriotism and public duty.

ONE of the local mouthpieces and an appointee of the present Democratic Federal administration, the "Honorable Hack" Quinn, has already expressed his hearty disapproval of and contempt for the "irregular" movement, which we take as a favorable sign for it. Mr. Quinn, it will be remembered, was recently elevated by President Cleveland's administration from the position of deputy clerk of the Criminal Court to a clerical position in the office of Inspector of Boilers. As he is unable to write or cipher "with facility," he has deputed his son to perform his duties, and is therefore left at leisure to pursue his profitable business of legislative "broking," lobbying, etc., to pull the Ring wires in the Fourth Ward in company with Deputy Sheriff Trumbo, and to perform other "regular" duties; even, at times, to instruct the public upon questions of public morals. Here is one of his recent utterances:

"That verdict in the McQuade trial was an outrage—a downright outrage," said Mr. Quinn, as he rose from a perusal of a newspaper article. "Yes: a downright outrage. If I had been on that jury, nothing on earth could have moved me to vote for that man's conviction. What has he done? Is it not conceded that the railroad for which he voted was a good thing for New York? I don't believe that the New York aldermen received a dollar before they voted for the franchise. Not a dollar, mind, was paid them in advance for their votes. The evidence showed that McQuade was in favor of the railroad long before the bill had been introduced, and he voted his convictions. Suppose he did get some money afterwards, what of it? It was not given him for his vote. It was a present. The people who wanted the bill passed felt grateful, and manifested their gratitude in a way they thought it would be best appreciated. The idea of convicting a man on such a charge! If I should to-night find \$100,000 on the street, I wouldn't keep a cent of it. I should try my best to discover the owner and return him the money. That is one thing; but it is quite another to convict a man for accepting a present after doing what his conscience approved. We had the same excitement here many years ago over the Brock Bill. Men in this State were accused of taking money for voting for the bill, but everybody now acknowledges that the running of city passenger cars, as provided for by that act, was a good thing for the city; and what, then, was the use of all that fuss against the members of the Legislature who voted for it? It reminds me of the electric-light bill passed by the City Council some years ago. . . . The money which the New York aldermen are supposed to have received didn't belong to anybody in

particular. If, after a man has voted his sentiments, some individual or corporation chooses to send him or his wife or other members of his family a present, where is the harm?"

We hasten to acquit Mr. Quinn of any intentional humor. He has for a long time acted upon these principles in dealing with "public questions," to his own entire satisfaction. The same views are entertained or acted upon by three-fourths of the men chosen by President Cleveland to attend to Federal business in Maryland. They form the chief supporting plank in the corrupt platform of Ring rule in the State. They ought to be inscribed upon all the battle-flags of her bosses, and written over the doorways of her political club-houses. But Mr. Quinn has chosen an unfortunate illustration of those views. Alderman Jaehne is within the walls of the State Penitentiary. Alderman McQuade is to follow him. Both of them acted upon Mr. Quinn's principles and found them to contain the seeds of death.

SHERIFF FLEDDERMAN OWES a debt of gratitude to the Baltimore newspapers (which he ought to repay by liberal advertising patronage) for the "easy way" in which they have handled his little election-day indiscretions, to which the public mind has been recently directed, or, let us rather say, from which public attention has been cunningly diverted. We print in another column a letter written to the *Morning Herald* by Mr. William L. Marbury, counsel for one of the witnesses before the Grand Jury, which the *Herald* refused to publish. It is a serious matter that we should find a sworn statement from two witnesses before the Grand Jury to the effect that the Sheriff attempted to bribe one of them to vote the Ring ticket by offering him the ticket in company with a two-dollar note. Both witnesses are said on good authority to be men of respectable character. We do not see that they have any motive for telling an untruth, and their statements are apparently consistent and rigidly adhered to. It has been further rumored that the Sheriff had supplied whiskey and cigars to judges of election while on duty. Here is the Sheriff's explanation, made to a reporter of the *Herald*:

"How about the whiskey and cigars for the judges of election?" was asked.

"There is nothing wrong that I can see in that," Sheriff Fledderman replied. "It is not an unfrequent thing for refreshments to be sent to the judges of election. It has, in fact, been done time and time again. The whiskey came out of my private stock. There is no law against a private individual giving a friend something to drink on election day. The prohibitory law only covers the selling or giving away of it by keepers of drinking establishments."

If Mr. Fledderman can "see nothing wrong in that," we see none in expressing our belief in the entire truth of his statement. But he must allow us to add that a man who, while occupying the position of Sheriff, thinks it proper for him to supply whiskey to judges of election in the very midst of an exciting political contest, can hardly expect to defend himself against a charge of bribery by urging the improbability of the charge. The purchasing of votes among a certain class of negroes has been long a common practice upon the part of his political allies, and, as he well knows, was largely relied upon by them to secure his own election.

MANY—we hope a large majority—of the people of Maryland agree with the statement of President Cleveland's message to Congress that "the continued operation of the law relating to our Civil Service has added the most con-

vincing proofs of its necessity and usefulness." We do not believe that they have any desire whatever "to submit to the banishment of its underlying principle from the operation of their Government." They, therefore, regret that the President did not see fit to add to this statement an opinion, which Maryland experience has certainly given ground for, that continued and gross violations of the "underlying principle" of the reform by himself and his Cabinet, in branches of the public service not embraced within the present limits of the law, have "added the most convincing proofs" that those limits ought to be immediately extended. Unfortunately for the smallest claim that the President could at this date make to consistency, founded on his admirable "literary" support of the cause, the removal of General Appraiser Combs, under circumstances which bear the stamp of the most noxious features of the spoils system, was announced almost simultaneously with the appearance of the President's message. The manly and respectful letter of the dismissed Appraiser, asking for an explanation of his extraordinary treatment, surely deserved a reply. We can only find space for the following extract from the letter:

If I had been guilty of the grossest misconduct, the manner of this suspension could not have been more summary and discourteous. I was about to commence the hearing of a reappraisement case at an early hour on the morning of the 1st inst., when an importer called my attention to a notice in the *World* of the appointment of my successor, Mr. Downes. Having the interest of the Government at heart, and not wishing to involve it in legal complications by performing the duties of an office the functions of which I might not even then have the legal right to exercise, I immediately telegraphed to Secretary Manning as follows:

"Papers announce the appointment of General Appraiser at Baltimore. Shall I conclude unfinished cases, or has my suspension taken effect? Answer by wire."

The public business of the already overcrowded General Appraiser's office at this port was thereupon suspended for several hours, until the arrival of General Appraiser Brower. I then waited until after office hours the following day; but, receiving no reply to my telegram, concluded to go to Washington to make inquiry whether any charges had been filed against me, and to ascertain, if possible, whether my suspension had taken effect. I failed to see Mr. Manning, who, I was told, was engaged on his annual report. I did, however, see Assistant Secretary Fairchild, who informed me that there were no charges against me, and that my removal was a matter of regret to him, and had resulted from some prior promise of yours.

I called again at Secretary Manning's office to inquire whether my telegram had been received, and was informed by Mr. Brennan, his private secretary, that the Secretary had signed a telegram in reply to mine, which had been prepared in the Appointment Division, and returned there to be sent to me. Upon inquiry at that office, I was informed that they did not send it "because they feared it might complicate the appointment." Thus, a telegram, officially signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, upon important public business, was suppressed in the office of Mr. Eugene Higgins, Appointment Clerk.

Mr. Combs was regarded by his superiors as a valuable public officer; he was selected by the Department for work of the most delicate and important character; he was entirely free from all taint of offensive partisanship. If Mr. Schurz's provision, requiring a reason for his removal to be put on record, had been in force, it would, if truthful, probably have read: "Removed to make a vacancy for Mr. Downes, a county politician, to whom Senator Gorman had promised something; said removal also being the result of some prior promise of the President to Senator Gorman." If this is not the patronage trade, what is it? Will such treatment insure good public servants? Will it promote harmony and efficiency in the public service?

MR. MORRISON'S JUBILEE.

AS this is the peculiar season of peace and good will, we trust that we shall not be misunderstood, in expressing our anxious solicitude on behalf of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Freeman Rasin. Judging from appearances only, it might be reasonable to infer, that like Gondomar's rat, which retired from the temptations of the world into the centre of a large Parmesan cheese, he had gone entirely "out of politics" to enjoy their fruits at his leisure. Mr. Rasin has been doing nothing in particular, lately, in the way of statesmanship, so far as mankind in general are aware, nor has he said anything of which even the sympathetic reporters of the *Sun* have caught an echo. Of course we do not forget that he is a thoroughly conscientious officeholder, and feels himself precluded, by Mr. Cleveland's circular, from even looking over the fence of the political arena. But still, to rival what his adversaries have been doing, at the Crescent Club, could hardly fall within the prohibitions of the circular, for we cannot but think that listening to speeches by the hour, and getting drunk and noisy afterwards, may fairly be regarded as within the scope of that "individual activity," in which no American freeman, though ever so much an officeholder, is restrained by the President from indulging. We cannot but fear, therefore, that our excellent Naval Officer is "weakening" a little, or "losing his hold" (as they call it), when we hear no bugle-note from him, and find no banners hung upon his outward wall. We have been in vain expecting daily to see the inside of the Calumet Club turned out for the benefit of the nation, in *Frank Leslie's Newspaper*, as happened two or three weeks ago with the *intérieur* (which is French) of the Crescent. We have been looking anxiously for some announcement of "final ceremonies," at a fresh "opening" of the Calumet, which will throw the recent magnificence of its rival into the shade. To be sure, it would not be easy to secure another orator as patient and painstaking as Senator Wilson, or warranted to speak for as many hours to deaf ears. Nor indeed are we altogether certain that Mayor Hodges, with all his gifts in that direction, could be relied on to make a second speech as bad as that with which he delighted "the boys" of Mr. Morrison. But then there are other attractions which Mr. Rasin—if we might irreverently say so—might find to "draw" even better. He could make a speech himself or have one made by Mr. "Hack" Quinn. He could have athletic exercises by Messrs. Busey and Harig, and perhaps Governor Lloyd could be induced to pardon his late election judges, Messrs. Burke and Kennedy, for a single night, to enable them to participate, in their pleasant way. Mr. Rasin could have another and more extended eulogy on City Councilman Weyler delivered, with illustrations and illuminations, by our eloquent townsman, Mr. John P. Poe. Doubtless the Rev. De Witt Talmage, and perhaps the evangelist Sam Jones, might be induced to take part in the exercises by the delusive hope of doing some good, where there are so many sinners. The "bearded lady" might be introduced to advantage, in order to illustrate a lecture (of the class which it is proposed to have delivered at the Crescent Club) upon the theory of development, under the influence of female suffrage. There are hosts of attractions, in fine, which the Calumet Club, with suggestions from the Dime Museum, might "inaugurate," with great success and at moderate expense. That nothing of the sort has yet been announced or promised, compels the apprehension that East Baltimore is forgetting

its duty to contribute, like Paca Street, to the permanence and glory of our free institutions.

But, to use the expressive language of our accomplished Mayor, we must not "squander time" in discussing the Calumet Club, which has ignobly done nothing, when we have before us the inexhaustible theme of the Crescent Club, which has nobly done so much. In entering upon that theme, however, we must add a few general observations to those which were made, in our article on "Club Reform," in the December number of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

A thoroughly false and, to those who know, an equally preposterous impression is sought to be made upon the public mind, by the contrivers and managers of the Crescent Club, as to its character, purposes and objects. It is held out to those at a distance, and to the innocent and unwary nearer home, as an institution established and organized to concentrate and dignify the principle and sentiment of party—to elevate its standards and purify its methods. At the "opening ceremonies," on the 15th of December, Mr. "Frank" Morrison, the Warden of the City Jail and President of the Club, delivered an address, in which he made no concealment of his purpose to practise this imposition on the credulous. We prefer to let him speak for himself, as his discourse appeared next day in the columns of the *Sun*. The italics are our own.

"One of the main objects of our Club," said Mr. Morrison, "is to give prominence to *party principles*, as distinguished alike from mere partisan prejudice or passion, and *from that pernicious disease, 'personal politics,' which uses a political organization only as a means to accomplish the ends of private rapacity or individual aggrandizement.*"

This announcement, if Mr. Morrison had gone no farther, would have sufficiently puzzled and astounded those among his hearers who knew what his political principles and practices were and always had been, and who were not aware that their worthy President had been taking counsel with His Honor the Mayor in regard to "the constitution of the Athenian democracy." But Mr. Morrison was determined not to be misunderstood by any one, and he proceeded to unfold the most beautiful sentiments and principles. "The capacity to hold and advocate political doctrines," he continued—"that is, principles of civil government—is one of the noblest attributes of man. The exercise of this faculty is not only honorable, but it is a duty of the most sacred character."

Although this sounds a little like an extract from a copy-book or from one of Mr. Rayner's speeches, the bitter enemy of the Club must nevertheless admit it to be as incontrovertible as the multiplication table. Mr. Morrison naturally goes on to deduce from it the necessity and growth of political parties, and adds with much force, though we should suppose with a few qualms—as blushes are not in his line—that "a party organization without political principles is a mere modern edition of 'The Goths,' or the American version of 'The Forty Thieves.'"

He then puts himself partly in the confessional for a moment, and says: "It has unfortunately happened that men of the latter description [viz., thieves] *have sometimes, in isolated localities, prostituted the Democratic party organization to their own selfish ends*, and so given occasion to some of the enemy to assume the disguise of virtuous-minded and disinterested public critics."

Where the "isolated localities" are located he had not time to mention. Of course it is understood that none of

them are in Baltimore—especially west of the Falls. Who "the enemy" are he likewise leaves to the imagination. From the concluding part of the discourse, it might be inferred by an optimist that he means the Republicans. But whomsoever he means he proceeds to treat most spitefully, and they must, in fact, be very bad people, if all that he and Mr. Hodges said of them that night is to be accepted as historical. We prefer quoting, for the present, from Mr. Morrison, inasmuch as he had the advantage of speaking before dinner. "These immaculates," he said [to wit; the "enemy" above mentioned], "in the course of their efforts to destroy the Democracy, have sedulously endeavored to bring the whole party organization into disrepute. They have shaken the finger of scorn and wagged the tongue of slander at every man who was known to bear the party name or seek the advancement of the party's principles, until they have produced in the minds of the thoughtless the belief that it is a dishonor to have political principles or convictions, and a crime to labor for the promotion of the public weal." Having thus relieved his mind, Mr. Morrison passed at once, according to the *Sun*, to "the pledges of the Democratic party to a system of low tariff." As this was a subject upon which a gentleman so devoted to "the noblest attributes of man" could hardly dwell with much satisfaction, the orator got rid of it rapidly and after the manner which is commonly known as "dodging." He then concluded with some observations in regard to Civil-Service Reform which we may refer to later.

As to what impression was produced, by all this, upon the honorable Senators and Representatives who identified themselves with the occasion, by their presence, we have no means of gratifying our curiosity. "When the end of the menu was reached, and everybody was drinking coffee, eating celery and smoking," according to the reporter of the *Sun*, Mr. John S. Bullock discharged the "pleasing," though one might think the somewhat superfluous, "duty" of presenting Mr. Morrison to the company. That gentleman in his turn made a few most touching observations upon "woman's weakness," "woman's strength" and "woman's love," which we should be delighted to repeat in full, if we had space and a poets' corner. He then referred to the distinguished guests, among whom he said that he saw "some of America's greatest statesmen," and added—"I now take my seat to listen to their words of wisdom." Strange to say, nevertheless, only three measured inches of space, out of the eight columns of the *Sun's* report, were hospitably vouchsafed to the "wisdom" of the statesmen in question, although they stood eight, in number, to four of the local orators. Nearly a column and a quarter were appropriated to Mayor Hodges' exposition of his own views and those of Mr. Burke and "the Greek statesmen" on the subject of Civil-Service Reform—a *propos*, be it understood, of a toast to "The City of Baltimore." It is almost needless to mention that His Honor followed a well-known historical example, and said "ditto to Mr. Burke." "I believe, with Mr. Burke," was the better-sounding way in which he put it.

But we are allowing the seducing eloquence of President Morrison and Mayor Hodges to withdraw us from the observation made above, that we have no means of knowing the effect produced upon the distinguished strangers by Mr. Morrison's address. As they are all old birds, it is but reasonable to suppose that they know chaff when they see it. But coming here as strangers, and taking all in good faith as they heard it, without inquiry, there is no reason why they

may not have gone away under the wholly false impression as to the character and objects of the Club, which it was Mr. Morrison's audacious purpose to create, as we have already charged.

Judge Wilson, a Senator from Maryland, a gentleman of character and intelligence, and personally above reproach, had sanctioned that impression by his presence, and by nearly five solid columns of political disquisition which he treated the occasion as worthy of. In fact, he himself spoke of the Club in the same sense as Mr. Morrison—treating it altogether as an organization in the interest of the Democratic party, as a party, and not as a personal machine. Indeed, he had gone out of his way to express his confidence in its hostility to all but "pure and honest methods in politics." "I should lose all faith," he said, "in Democratic institutions, and even in humanity itself, if I did not give the body of gentlemen I see before me full credit for honesty and sincerity, in speaking out against corruption and fraud." This was rather strong, it must be confessed, even taken with all allowances. A gentleman's faith in humanity must have a very slight hold on him, if he is willing to stake it all upon the fidelity of any party or party organization whatever, at its best, to its public promises and protestations. Judge Wilson obviously has access to a great deal of political literature, and we commend him to a re-perusal of the various platforms, of all parties, which have appeared since he was a voter, in order that he may determine how much faith in Democratic institutions, or humanity either, he would have had left, years ago, if it had been shaken by the demagogical insincerity with which their promises were made or the insolent recklessness with which they were habitually repudiated, after they had served their purpose. Doubtless there were very many sincere and honorable gentlemen in the company which he was addressing, upon whose honesty, in speaking out against corruption and fraud, he could absolutely count. But he ought to have known, after his recent experiences in Maryland politics, and especially the politics of the leading club-men around him and the class to which they belong, that the very citizens upon whose integrity he may have rested his confidence are precisely the class whose good intentions are systematically smothered at the primaries, as their votes are counted out at elections, no matter how bravely they "speak out." If he wishes to understand more thoroughly than he seems to understand, how little sincerity and honesty avail in the struggle with the principles and methods of the gang of politicians whom he was practically endorsing, let him turn to his own experience as a Senator, and tell us how much his own good intentions practically amounted to, in preventing the scandalous appointments which have disgraced the party and disparaged the Administration in Maryland. Surely he must remember how he himself was "hocused" into a caucus recommendation of Morris A. Thomas, whom he well knew and had publicly declared to be unworthy. Precisely the same sort of tactics which abused his good faith or his simplicity, then, have placed him, now, in the further false position of giving the countenance of his respectability to Mr. Morrison's most recent strategy.

We do not wish to press the *argumentum ad hominem* on Judge Wilson further than we can avoid, for he is of course entitled, in every way, to be treated far differently from the people who are trading on his reputation. But it seems to us very difficult to realize that he does not know precisely who and what Mr. "Frank" Morrison and the controlling

spirits of the Crescent Club are. He can hardly be ignorant of what every well-informed politician knows in regard to them, and what cannot possibly be the subject of mistake. If there is a man in Baltimore or Maryland—not excepting Mr. Rasin or Mr. Gorman—who has never known any politics but “personal politics,” it is Mr. Morrison. He has never had any relation to the Democratic party except as an office-holder or an office or contract-seeker, and has never used it except as a means “to accomplish the ends of his personal aggrandizement.” The idea of an elevated sentiment, in regard to political organization or its objects or “the public weal,” has never entered his mind and is incompatible with his mental and moral constitution and his political methods and habits. That he should be seized with a sudden desire to “give prominence to party principles” and organize a Club for the purpose of carrying out “one of the noblest attributes of man,” and irrespective of what he could make by it, is known by everybody who knows him to be simply ridiculous, and would be laughed at by himself whenever he could risk the joke. That he is now engaged, with some of his former allies, in a bitter and relentless struggle for supremacy in the management of the party and the gathering of the “boodle” which that supremacy brings with it in Maryland, is as well known everywhere and by everybody in politics as the existence of his club-house. The Crescent Club is but part of the machinery, pure and simple, of his personal campaign. He procured the Club to nominate Mr. Rayner for Congress in consideration of services rendered to him by that gentleman last winter in Annapolis—services not only political, but personal. His plan is to use it, hereafter, as he did then, and to make it speak his politics and reward his friends as if spontaneously out of its own mouth and with its own hands. Knowing all these things, as everybody else does, we are unable to comprehend how Senator Wilson could have listened with patience to Mr. Morrison’s pretensions as we have repeated them from his lips—much less how he could have given them his practical—indeed his warm—endorsement, as he assuredly did. The fact is that the honorable Senator does not realize how much more deep and lasting harm and wrong are done by the weak, complacent acquiescence and compliance—nay, even by the silence—of respectable men than by the overt and brazen wickedness of the schemers whose devices they shut their eyes to or condone. He is far, very far, unhappily, from standing alone in this default in one of the main duties of citizenship. It is the crying evil, to-day, in the politics of Maryland. The triumph and sway of Rings and Bosses would come to an end to-morrow, if but one-half of the citizens who despise and resent them would only put in force, courageously and energetically, what they honestly know and feel. “The besetting sin of the age,” says the *Saturday Review* in a recent article, “is the exaggeration of tolerance, and it has its origin in sloth, reluctance to take trouble, and the habit of refusing from a mixture of motives [which the writer enumerates] to acknowledge the truth of what is true but unpleasant.” When our Maryland people cease to commit this sin, it will need but few fingers to be shaken and few tongues to trouble themselves with wagging at Mr. Morrison and the like. Meantime, there is something marvellous in the “cheek” (as he would call it) with which he asks men to believe that the strictures upon him and people of his sort are entirely due to the fact that they “bear the party name” and “have political principles or convictions”!

We have left ourselves no space to pay our respects to Mr.

Hodges as fully as we desire and he deserves. We cannot, nevertheless, avoid contrasting, to his great disadvantage, the temper and language of his remarks in regard to Civil-Service Reform with the far more moderate, conciliatory and rational expressions of Mr. Morrison towards the close of the latter’s discourse. Mr. Hodges labors under the misfortune of having been all his life what is known, to his present friends, as a “kicker,” and he is compelled to protest ostentatiously all the while, where Mr. Morrison’s unkickng stalwartism requires no advertisement. After his having been for so many years notoriously at work outside of the party, the sensation of being inside of it is a novelty and a wonder to Mr. Hodges, and he is trying all the time to get further inside than anybody ever was before. Imputing to some imaginary “tender and sentimental apologist” the theory that party is an evil, though a necessary one, he proceeds forthwith to “believe, with Mr. Burke,” that it is a great blessing—a fact which, in Mr. Burke’s sense, if Mr. Hodges only understood it, we think nobody but himself would suppose to be doubted. Believing then that anything which “tends to discredit party, to weaken party allegiance and lessen party vigilance,” is “perilous to the liberties of the people,” and recognizing the fact, as he thinks, that the desire for office does more than anything else “to confirm that allegiance and sharpen that vigilance,” he jumps at once, after his manner, to the conclusion that “a large and inextinguishable office-seeking class” is our greatest political safeguard, and that the Civil-Service Law is an abomination, because it interferes with a great and salutary national scramble. He believes it to be true, he says, that the American people, “beyond all other nations on earth, are born with a desire to vote and hold office,” which ought to be encouraged, and that the Civil-Service Law substitutes, for the promiscuous and patriotic results of that desire, “an aristocracy of officeholders.” It never seems to occur to him that possibly he may be magnifying a purely personal idiosyncrasy, when he supposes the desire for place to be born with all male infants. Nor does he appear at all to realize that the American citizen may come into the world with a desire and a need to be well governed and well served, as well as to get into the Mayor’s office or the Custom House, and that to govern well is rather more the object of government than to have a hive of hungry office-hunters swarming around and fed by the treasury. Party and party allegiance and vigilance may be a great good, if Mr. Hodges pleases, but if they can only be had by bribing the citizen with office and withdrawing the youth and vigor of the country from the paths of honest industry and manly self-dependence, we shall insist that Mr. Burke would have been well content with a little less of them than Mr. Hodges. It does seem to us that a gentleman who never lets us forget his “experience in office” might have reached the conclusion, by this time, that office-hunting is an ominous nuisance, and that the system of the “spoils,” which he so unblushingly and demagogically eulogizes, is the one evil which, more than all others, at this moment is threatening the integrity of the Republic and the purity of all its institutions. Never before have we seen or heard an attempt to make an apotheosis of it.

It would hardly pay to follow Mr. Hodges and his Greek statesmen into the Athenian democracy. It is quite impossible for anything else that he said to be worse and more demoralizing than that portion of his political deliverances which we already have exposed. We see, by the *Sun’s* report, that he made another speech, on the same night,

before the Hebrew Benevolent Society. We sincerely hope, for the sake of that noble and unostentatious charity, that he did not prove "unto the Jews a stumbling-block," as he did "unto the Greeks foolishness."

POLITICAL GOSSIP.

PRESIDENT ELIOT, of Cambridge University, in a letter written to the Conference of Independents who supported the Democratic nominee for Governor of Massachusetts at the last election, has stated his political views with refreshing frankness and vigor. In the course of his letter he said:

An Independent, to my thinking, ought to be something more than a scratcher of tickets. He has two methods of effective action, and in my opinion only two. On the one hand he may act with that one of the two great parties which at the moment best represents his own political principles, or on the other he may join, or help to start, a third party organized expressly to promote the principles in which he believes.

The political principles which I believe in are:

1. Public office a public trust.
2. A Civil Service administered on business principles, without any admixture of patronage or "spoils," simply to get the best possible service.
3. A serious reduction of all the taxes on imports, and the complete abolition of many of them.
4. A careful and moderate expenditure of the public money in all directions.
5. A currency based on coin good throughout the world, and not on tokens having circulation only in the United States.

In the absence of a third party expressly organized to promote these principles, I act with the Democratic party rather than with the Republican, because the Democratic leaders and representatives, adequately supported by the mass of the party, seem to me to have done more during the past two years and a half to advance all these principles, except the fifth, than the Republican party in the whole course of its history. More than this: I cannot perceive in the recent public acts and utterances of the Republican party and its leaders satisfactory evidence that they really mean to promote any of the above principles. As I want Massachusetts to support the Democratic party on national issues, I vote the Democratic ticket for State officers also; because that is the only practical way to build up the Democratic vote in Massachusetts into an effective majority. Having no faith whatever in the doctrine that only one-half of the people—namely, the Republican half—can be trusted with public administration, I am not afraid that the Democrats will ruin the State Government—any more than they have ruined the National Government since March 4, 1885.

Finally, I am an Independent still—that is, a citizen who looks upon a political party solely as a means of promoting public principles, and who will therefore act with any party only so long as it seems to him to promote those principles in which he believes.

These views in many respects coincide with those entertained by this journal.

MR. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON has recently made a most interesting "argument for the restoration of majority elections" before the Massachusetts Reform Club. The following extract from it will be appreciated by "practical politicians":

The party is not an annual, dying at the root and springing again from seed. It makes a woody stalk—yea, it becometh a tree; and very queer are some of the birds, of strange and not beautiful feather and of cacophonous note, and not in the least delicate in their taste for carrion, which come and make their nests in the branches thereof. It is an organization that can be maintained only by a martial severity of discipline towards mutineers and deserters, at the first symptoms of disaffection or independent judgment shooting them politically dead on the spot; but paying for professional services with such rewards as it has to dispose of. For professional services it must have. Notwithstanding all the volunteer and amateur service that is rendered during the excitement of an election "campaign," so vast and complicated a machine as a political party needs a great amount of skilled and professional labor, and must be tended, even when it is idle, by experts who give their whole time to it, and who are possessed with the mistaken idea that "they must live." The parts of the machine are geared together with immense ability—a system of wheels within wheels. The outer periphery is made up of the large multitude of voters who, by force of conviction, or of interest, or of tradition, or of mere habit and inertia, are accustomed to call themselves by the party name, and to vote its ticket with more or less regularity. Within this is geared the circle of amateur partisans, who so far identify

themselves with the party's affairs as to frequent the nominating caucus. A still smaller and interior circle is the ring of professional politicians, who give their whole time to politics, and, in one way or another, make their living out of it. And in the inmost centre of all lies coiled the boss, who makes the whole go round. The small residuum of liberty that is left to the individual citizen at the ballot-box is to decide between two such organizations and their candidates. And even this apparent liberty is sometimes rendered nugatory by the operation of that well-known principle—that "where combination is possible, competition is out of the question." The fact is not infrequent, and tends to become more and more common, that the two ostensibly hostile parties are really managed in collusion. These fierce contests, waged with such a show of intense animosity, are managed on both sides, if not by the same men, at least by men who have a perfectly good understanding with one another. It is responsibly asserted by a respectable writer, as a thing "perfectly well understood, that in the State of New York the same set of men manage both the parties."

Briefly stated, the fact is this: Our Democratic Government, while still maintained, as to all its legal forms and titles, as the forms of the Roman Republic were maintained, under the Cæsars, has undergone a revolution, and we are governed by an oligarchy of professional politicians, or at best by two oligarchies holding power alternately.

Without feeling sure that Mr. Bacon has found a specific for our diseased body politic, we will admit the thoroughness and accuracy of his diagnosis. The address has been printed in pamphlet form, and is worth careful reading.

THE New York *World* has undertaken to administer a rebuke to the Independent Republican press of New York. While we are not prepared to unite altogether in its views, they seem to us to furnish food for thought:

The removal of General Appraiser Combs, of Baltimore, is declared by the *Times* to have been made "with all the characteristics of the worst form of the old spoils system." Not only were there no charges against this official, but Secretary Manning called him "one of their most efficient officers," and Assistant Secretary Fairchild said that the removal was "a matter of regret to him (Mr. Fairchild), and had resulted 'from some prior promise of yours' (the President)." As Appointment Clerk Eugene Higgins suppressed an official telegram from Secretary Manning, in answer to one from Mr. Combs, because he feared it "might complicate the appointment" of the man who had been selected for the office, it is not difficult to understand what the secret influences were that procured the change.

In view of the circumstances under which this removal was made, the *Times* is moved to inquire:

"How can the Government hope to command and retain the services of able and honest men when they are treated with less fairness and decency than Mr. Manning would be required to show towards a coachman in his stable or a scullion in his kitchen?"

And it adds:

"Probably the explanation in this case is Gorman. There have been other cases similar to it where the explanation must be traced to some other Senator or politician. Why Mr. Cleveland allows these men to lead him into acts that are inconsistent with his avowed principles, and that create distrust of his good faith in many minds, we cannot say."

What is the sense in continuing to represent the President as being "led" into actions the meaning of which he very well understands? Baltimore is so near to the capital as to be virtually within the range of the President's vision. For two years the better class of Democrats in Maryland have protested against Mr. Cleveland's practice of recognizing Senator Gorman as the "boss" of their State. The Maryland Civil-Service Reform Association has joined in and given sharp point to this protest. And yet the Combs case shows that the Senator, who makes no concealment of his contempt for reform, is still conducting his spoils business at the old stand and in the old way. He is at least straightforward and unhypocritical, and should not be blamed for taking the spoils that are given to him.

We submit to the esteemed *Times* that the Mugwump adulators of the President are most to blame for these frequent lapses from the reform principle. The President has treated them with more deference than he has shown to his own party. And for the most part they have praised everything he has done, or criticised him in such a gingerly fashion that he has found encouragement to do just as he pleased. In Maryland, as in Indiana and other States, there has been practically a clean sweep of the offices, and the spoilsmen have been given full sway. If the Independent and Mugwump leaders and organs had rebuked this inconsistency as it deserved, there would have been fewer cases like those of Hedden, Beattie, Higgins, Thomas, Scriba, Stone and Combs to bring contempt upon the cause of reform. Instead of weak expressions of "wonder" as to why the President allows himself to be "misled," they should arraign him with the fearlessness of truth for going open-eyed and obstinately in the wrong direction whenever it suits his purposes or whims to do so.

This journal, while it has always hastened to praise President Cleveland for all that he has said and done for reform,

has not withheld its criticisms of what he has done for the "other side," nor have these criticisms been tempered by anything but justice.

REASONS FOR REMOVALS.

SINCE the Executive Committee of the National Civil-Service Reform League adopted a resolution recommending the enactment of a law, or the issuing of executive orders, "making it the duty of public officers entrusted with the power of appointment and removal to put upon public record in every case the reasons for the removals made," different opinions have been expressed as to the constitutionality, as well as the practicability, of the measure. I shall not here consider the constitutional point. For my present purpose it is sufficient to say that even if a law making it the duty of the President to put upon record his reasons for every removal were of doubtful constitutionality, the adoption of such a practice by the President, and the issuing of an order imposing such a duty upon those holding power under him, would certainly not be unconstitutional. It is, therefore, with every President, a matter of executive discretion to do this thing or not, and the only question remains whether it would be a wise thing to do.

As is generally assumed, the executive should, for the discipline of the service, have the discretionary power of removing subordinates. But this cannot be accepted as meaning that the executive should be without proper responsibility in the exercise of that discretion. His power to remove for reasons satisfactory to himself is not to be curtailed. But he is to be held to a proper responsibility by being obliged to put those reasons on record, so that it may become known whether the reasons satisfactory to himself are such as ought to be satisfactory to a conscientious executive. In the great Senate debate upon this subject which took place in 1835, Henry Clay put the case very pointedly thus: "It has been truly said that the office was not made for the incumbent, nor was it created for the incumbent of another office. In both, and in all cases, public offices are created for the public, and the people have a right to know why and wherefore one of their servants dismisses another."

The removed officer, too, has rights entitled to consideration. If we mean to lift the public service to a higher moral plane, we must recognize the necessity of securing to the service the public respect, and of making its members respect themselves. To this end, they must not be treated like persons whose position in society and whose feelings are entitled to no consideration, and who may be kicked out of their places without even so much as the avowal of a reason. As it should be considered an honor to be in the service, so it must be felt as a very grave calamity to be dismissed from it, and it will be so regarded as soon as the service begins to be well ordered upon correct principles.

Removals without proper "cause" will then be out of the question. That cause may be of three different kinds: Cause found in official conduct, such as inefficiency, neglect of duty, dishonesty, bad temper, offenses against discipline; cause touching private character, such as immorality, bad habits, reckless debt-making; political cause, such as "offensive partisanship." When, under a well-ordered service system, a removal is made, it must have been for one of these reasons. If no reason is avowed, the public servant removed will rest under the suspicion of having committed any or all of the offenses for which removals are made. He may have been removed for being a slow worker, and in consequence of his removal fall, among his neighbors, under the suspicion of being a thief. He may have been removed for dishonesty or habitual drunkenness, and succeed in working himself into other positions of respectability, making others believe that he had merely been a forward partisan politician. In the first case the man is wronged; in the second, the community.

It must be kept in mind that under a reformed system removals made merely for the purpose of making places for personal or political favorites will no longer be thought possible. As long as there is a widely-prevailing impression that removals may mean nothing but that, it is a sure sign

that the genuineness of the reform is not generally believed in. Such impressions will disappear in the same measure as those in power succeed in convincing the people of their good faith. Then every removal will mean, in the public opinion, a removal for proper cause. Every public servant has a right to expect that he will not be removed as long as no such cause exists. He has a right to ask that, if removed, he will not be subjected to the imputation of worse things than he has actually been guilty of. He should, while in the service, not be permitted to forget that if he does things which subject him to removal, those things will go upon record. This is a kind of justice which cannot fail to elevate the *morale* of the service. It can be secured only by publicity.

Neither will it fail to discourage arbitrary removals. It is said that if the exercise of the appointing power be so regulated as to exclude favoritism, arbitrary removals will cease. This is in a great measure true. But the exercise of the appointing power has been so regulated with regard to only 15,000 of the 120,000 places in the service, and a great extension of that regulation does not at present seem imminent. There is, as yet, no agreement anywhere as to the means by which it can be accomplished. It is probable that for a long time to come a very large number of places will be subject to the unrestricted action of the appointing power. So long the temptation to make arbitrary removals for the purpose of opening places for personal or political favorites will be very great; and, evidently, the temptation will be all the greater if the removals can be made without the obligation of giving reasons for them.

It is objected that when a man in power really desires to make removals, he can easily evade the spirit of the rule by putting upon record some vague generality, such as "For the good of the service," or "To get a better man." To be sure, he might attempt this; but he cannot do it often without being found out, and the condemnation which public opinion would visit upon him would count for something.

Moreover, it is usually not the executive officer himself who desires to make removals without cause. In most cases he makes them only in obedience to outside pressure, which pushes for the opening of vacancies. And against that outside pressure the executive officer would find in his obligation to give his reason for every removal a strong shield of protection. It would have been of inestimable value to the present Administration, had the President and the heads of the executive departments been able to say to every one who demanded the opening of a place for "his man," that no removal could be made without an official statement of the reason therefor upon the honor of the officer exercising the removing power.

The last objection to such a rule is that in many cases in which removals become necessary, the reasons cannot be publicly given. My own experience does not confirm this. I do not remember a removal in the Interior Department, during the four years I was at its head, a statement of the reasons for which could have caused any serious embarrassment. There may be now and then circumstances of peculiar delicacy, but such cases, I am sure, are very rare exceptions—altogether too few in number and too insignificant in the difficulties they present to outweigh the great and manifold advantages to be gained by the regular recording of the reasons for removals. I am confident, as soon as this rule is fairly introduced, and the officers who have to carry it into effect have once become accustomed to tell the truth about such things, instead of equivocating and making mysterious faces, the difficulties and embarrassments which now seem to stand in the way will very soon vanish. Its faithful enforcement will be found a protection to those who exercise the appointing and removing power, a protection to the security and honor of every good man in the service, and thus a very effective help in the work of reform.

CARL SCHURZ.

THE MAYOR ON CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

I N speaking of Mayor Hodges a year ago, we said that we should treat him, as we try to treat all persons in or out of public life, with entire fairness, and give him credit when-

ever and for whatever he might reasonably claim it. We now feel bound to say that his speech at the Crescent Club banquet was singularly well suited to his audience. A glance at the list of those who, as we are informed by the *Sun*, paid \$7 apiece to be present, and, with very few exceptions, came to get their seven dollars' worth, will convince any fair-minded person that criticism, however silly or insincere, of a law intended, and to some extent effective, as a check upon the prostitution of the public service to partisan or personal ends, was addressed to eminently sympathetic hearers. If Mr. Hodges had always been as careful to adapt his language to those who listened to it, he would enjoy a higher reputation for tact and judgment than he does, and we can imagine no occasion more worthy of his sentiments, and no gathering to which they would be more congenial, unless perhaps he should repeat them to the inmates of one or other of the two public institutions over which the President and First Vice-President of the Crescent Club respectively preside. We may add that, although we cannot conscientiously pronounce the discourse either forcible or lucid, it bore much less resemblance than most of the Mayor's compositions to those articles on Chinese Metaphysics whose author read in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* about China under the letter C, and about Metaphysics under the letter M, and combined his information. The references to Burke were, we think, misleading, as so few of those present had heard of any statesman of that name except the one from the Seventeenth Ward recently committed to the paternal care of the aforesaid First Vice-President by the Circuit Court for Carroll County; and the Mayor's remarks about "Cincinnatus," and "Scylla and Charybdis," and "the wisest of Greek statesmen," and "the Constitution of the Athenian democracy," are unpleasantly suggestive of Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, and also of plagiarism on Mr. Rayner; but he does manage to make his meaning tolerably clear (in which he is generally very far from successful), and this meaning is simply that for very good personal reasons he hates the Pendleton Bill, and the entire reform movement of which that bill was one of the fruits. That he cannot justify these sentiments upon any rational grounds which he can publicly express, and that in attempting to do so he must resort to transparent sophistry and gross misstatements of fact, are misfortunes which he shares with all apologists of the spoils system. They hate Civil-Service Reform because it is aimed at abuses by which they profit; but, as they cannot say openly, "We are its enemies because it already interferes somewhat with our rascalities, and threatens to interfere in future even more," they are forced to invent explanations for their hostility with which no man of ordinary intelligence and information could be satisfied. They resemble that frank if somewhat illogical person who did not like Dr. Fell:

"The reason why I cannot tell;
But this I know full well,
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell."

There is, indeed, this difference: they *could* tell "the reason why" easily enough, but they dare not.

And now, having bestowed upon the Mayor's speech the praise which we feel it merits, we favor the distinguished orator with two admonitions. When he says, "Voters will not be zealous without the hope of reward—reward for themselves as for their friends—in the form of offices of honor or emolument, or in the shape of power or influence," we have no doubt that he is sincere, because he judges others by himself; but we warn him that the standard is deceptive. Another eminent local statesman, one, also, who didn't think much of Civil-Service Reform, when called upon recently to justify a breach of trust, alleged, in substance, that any one else, under similar circumstances, would have done what he did; but the Supreme Bench did not agree with him; and Mr. Hodges ought to understand that the community is not yet prepared to adopt as its own his standard of morals and honor. He says truly that the disinterestedness and patriotism of Washington and Cincinnatus were exceptional, but his own qualities are exceptional also. Many, perhaps most, men are weak and vain and over-ambitious, but they are not all so weak as to accept readily, even eagerly, an

obsequious subserviency to those who for years have treated them with open and well-deserved contempt. They are not all so vain that the intoxication of *any* notoriety, even the notoriety of an unusually conspicuous laughing-stock, deafens them to every prompting of conscience or self-respect. Their ambition is not always satisfied with the mere form of power, its substance belonging to old enemies, as the price of apostasy from the avowed principles of a lifetime. There may be more than one man among us who could make Mr. Hodges' speech of September 8, 1859 (republished in our issue of November, 1885), and afterward make his speech at the Eutaw House dinner, without a keen sense of personal degradation; but we know of only one; and it is unsafe for the Mayor to assume that patriotism is a sham, and public spirit only an appetite for public plunder, merely because he has reason to be particularly well acquainted with a character so abnormal. Party organization and party spirit existed in the United States for fifty years before the spoils system; they exist now in England, where the spoils system is a thing of the past; and they would exist here if there were no places for "party men" like Busey and Bucheimer and "Butch" Murphy, or even if there were no such party men outside of the penitentiary. The mention of these worthies suggests our second word of advice to the Mayor. It is needless for him to say on such occasions as the late banquet that he aims to "serve the whole people," and to obtain "good men" in public employment. This "racket" is distasteful to statesmen who "rest on the firm earth of practical life," and they look upon it (very reasonably) as childish trifling. They wish the Mayor to "aim" at finding support at public expense for the criminals and ruffians who are useful to them at election-time; and when he hints that employment might be reserved for the sober and law-abiding, he is quite as "unpractical" as if he asked that letter-carriers should know "the latitude of Timbuctoo and the date of Catiline's conspiracy." Of course they know that he only affects this "Sunday-school morality," but they get out of patience with the affectation. And we think they are perfectly right. We believe that nobody is deceived now by such talk on the Mayor's part, and there is no reason why he should burden his conscience or trouble his friends' ears with it. No doubt he has been a very serviceable executive to them, but hard work has worn off the veneering of his respectability. After his appointment of Busey and Bucheimer and the rest to public office, his value as a figurehead is gone.

THE CAUSE OF REFORM AT THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS.

(Concluded.)

In the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast States there was a decided reaction from the tide of enthusiasm which the nomination of Blaine in 1884 called forth, and which in that year swept everything before it. Colorado repeated the revolution of 1882, when, as was the case this year, a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature and Congressman were elected. In Nevada the Republicans seem by the result to have had the largest barrel this year, and that rotten borough went Republican for everything, including, of course, the United States Senatorship. In Oregon, which voted in June, the result was a Democratic victory as to Governor and most of the other State officers, although the Republicans elected their Congressmen. The election was a rebuke, and a merited one, to the Republican ring. In California, whose politics are uncertain and full of surprises, to a greater degree perhaps than are those of any other State in the Union, the Republicans were beaten as to part of the State ticket, including the head and the Legislature, although they elected four out of the six Congressmen—a loss, however, of one. The States of the far South, including Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, sent, for the first time since reconstruction, a solid Democratic delegation to Congress. In most of these States the vote was very light; in Georgia not more than one voter in twelve came to the polls. There was an aggressive tone about the farmers'

meetings and agitation in South Carolina, which may perhaps be the forerunner of some new political divisions in that State, and a very similar movement manifested itself to some extent in Arkansas. The Prohibition vote in Texas was this year quite large, being in the neighborhood of thirty thousand. In Missouri the Democrats made large gains in majorities. In Tennessee they also showed increased strength, and the famous canvass between the brothers ended in the Democrat getting a rather larger majority than has been common of late years in that State. The Republicans also lost their Congressman in the Tenth or Memphis District. In Kentucky the Democrats lost largely. Three Republican Congressmen were elected against one two years ago, while in the Louisville District, naturally overwhelmingly Democratic, the Republican candidate came within one hundred and thirty-three votes of being elected. The result in this district particularly, and in the State generally, including even Mr. Carlisle's district, shows that the possession of patronage is the most dangerous possession a party can have. The defeat of Willis in the fight for renomination in the Louisville District, because he was too much of a Civil-Service Reformer to please the boys, was the direct cause of a revolt which came so near turning the district over to the Republicans. In West Virginia the Democratic majority on the Congressional vote was cut down to less than seven hundred, and the Legislature barely escaped the Republican grasp. In the Old Dominion the Republicans and Independents combined have a majority of twenty thousand, and have elected a majority of the Congressional delegation. In these two States the dissatisfaction, not that the Republicans had not been turned out, for turned out they were, but that all the Democrats could not get in, cut down the Democratic vote, showing again that the old way of building up a party is the surest way of pulling it down. The Republicans had no special organization in either of the States, and yet their vote was brought out fairly well. A close examination of the returns from Virginia by voting precincts proves that while undoubtedly the principal cause of the Democratic defeat was the failure to get their vote out, yet there were unquestionably a considerable number of Democrats who voted the Republican ticket. The protective planks of the Republican platform beyond doubt had a good deal to do with the Republican success in the two Virginias, for protection is popular in both of them. In North Carolina, where the regular Republican organization voted not to put a ticket in the field, and nominations were made by a popular rebellion of the Republican voters, large gains were made in the Legislature. In Maryland and Delaware the Republican organization has gone to pieces. In the latter State the party did not nominate candidates, and the Prohibitionists were the only people who had the nerve to put a ticket in the field. In Maryland the disorganization of the Republicans has enabled the Democrats to apparently preserve their strength in a State in which the party, so far as it and its organization are to be identified, was never as weak as it is to-day.

The net result has been to show that the country remains as close as it possibly can be; that in New England, Minnesota, and on the Pacific Coast the Democrats have made very substantial gains; that in the Cotton States they have held their own, as they have done in the Border States, except North Carolina, the Virginias and Kentucky, in which they have lost heavily—so heavily as to make it necessary for them to pay some attention to the Virginias in 1888. In the West generally the Prohibition vote has largely increased, but in spite of this the Republicans have made gains. In the Middle States things stand as they did in 1884. The Democrats have not made gains; on the other hand, there are evidences that the same sort of influences which weakened them in the West were at work, but these were neutralized by the damage done the Republicans by the Prohibitionists. The cause of Civil-Service Reform has been advanced by the practical demonstration which has been given all over the country of the injury which the practice of the spoils system does the party which is responsible for it, the contrast between the Democratic gains in Massachusetts and their losses in Indiana in this respect being particularly striking. The injury which the spoils system

has done to the party has not been principally brought about by the votes of Civil-Service Reformers, but by those of the disappointed spoilsmen—disappointed not so much that no Democrats got places, but that other Democrats did get places and there were none given them. On the tariff question both sides seem confident that the victory was with them; to an impartial observer it would appear that the principal bearing which the election has upon the tariff question is to show that lines are beginning to be drawn more sharply than ever upon it, with the consequent result that in many places protectionists defeat free-traders, and in many others the reverse is the case. The side that will profit by the making of the issue clear and distinct is the side which has most to be thankful for in the way the election was fought. Each side doubtless thinks that it is time will decide the vexed question more surely than prophecy.

SECRET SESSIONS OF THE SENATE.

A vigorous attack upon the very citadel of the enemies of Civil-Service Reform has lately been made by Dorman B. Eaton, in a pamphlet of eighty pages, upon "Secret Sessions of the Senate; Their Origin, Their Motive, Their Object, Their Effect" (New York: Henry Bessey, printer, 47 Cedar street, 1886). For the information of our readers to whom this pamphlet may not be readily accessible; we propose a brief review of Mr. Eaton's latest contribution to the cause of which he was one of the earliest champions.

The historical origin of the now antiquated system of secret sessions is to be found in the American revival of that arrogant English spirit which instituted the Star Chamber, and which, after the Puritan Revolution, cropped out anew in the despotism of Parliament. As late as 1747 the House of Commons caused the arrest and trial of the editor of the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for presuming to publish political debates. Such high-handed measures now appear as tyrannical and as absurd as the action of Sir William Berkeley, who condemned a man for printing the laws of colonial Virginia. The fathers of this republic thought they had had enough of this sort of British arrogance. In the Articles of Confederation they provided for the publication of Congressional proceedings "for the information of the people," saving only such matters as related to "treaties, alliances and military operations, which require secrecy." The true principle for secret action is the *salus publica* and not the individual safety of any clique or body of men. The principle was recognized in the present Constitution, which, while obliging both Houses of Congress to publish their proceedings, allows an exception of "such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy."

What was manifestly intended to be an occasional privilege for both Houses of Congress in time of war or of other public emergency, was almost immediately wrested by the Senate into a permanent and selfish monopoly. While the House, true to the spirit of the Constitution, at once opened its doors to the public, and gave its proceedings to the press, the Senate maintained secret sessions for four years, until February, 1793, when for the first time its legislative actions were opened to the light of day. As an offset to this concession in the interest of democracy, the Senate resumed the aristocratic rôle of a privy council, with certain executive functions and certain confidential relations to the President. Upon the proceedings of this modern Star Chamber the full sun of publicity has never shone. During executive sessions, reporters are excluded and the galleries are cleared. Journals of these executive sessions were indeed published down to the year 1829, when Egyptian darkness finally settled down upon this sphere of Senatorial activity, as well as upon its sphere of confidential relations.

Mr. Eaton's pamphlet is a trumpet-blast, loud and clear enough to wake Liberty from her Senatorial grave. The American people have long been wondering what has become of their goddess. It now appears that she is imprisoned in the Senate Chamber. Mr. Eaton has shown with startling clearness the fact of the interdependence of the spoils system, Senatorial courtesy, and secret sessions. These three abuses have kept close company since the year 1820. That was the fatal year when Mr. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury, proposed his demagogical scheme for reducing the tenure of various purely administrative offices to a four years' term. The measure was popular with the House, and the Senate passed the bill

in hot haste, for it tended to increase Senatorial patronage, already the bane of the republic. Jefferson, the sage of Monticello, saw at once the iniquity of this new law. He wrote to Madison that it "would introduce a principle of intrigue and corruption which will soon leaven the mass, not only of Senators, but of citizens, and would make these officers sycophants to their Senators." That prophecy foreshadowed the present state of the Civil Service in this country, notably in Maryland.

The very year of the introduction into our republican paradise of the present spoils system, which had been diabolically perfected by Aaron Burr and Van Buren in the State of New York, the Senate, which now knew full well the difference between good and evil, sought to hide its shame by passing a rule of secrecy with respect to its action upon nominations. Up to the year 1820, Senatorial dignity had sufficed to maintain Senatorial silence. It now required a law. What went on in secret is clear enough, from Senator Marcy's brazen declaration, in 1832, that he "could see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." To this old Roman doctrine, the cause of all our present woes, the Senate has been faithful through all these years. That dignified body has indeed introduced the modern improvement of pooling issues for the sake of dividing the plunder, but the mantle of Senatorial courtesy has been discreetly thrown over every doubtful transaction. This intimate association of spoils with secrecy and courtesy has been going on for sixty-six years. In 1868, courteous Senators began to distrust their own courtesy, and voted to expel any man who violated it. Respecting that infamous enactment, a Senator recently declared, in the hearing of all his associates, "No Senator can read it, and no Senator can hear it read, without a sense of personal degradation." It is this rule which covers such shameful appointments as those that are now known, to the dishonor of Maryland, by the whole United States.

The gravity of the abuses possible under the present system of secret sessions and Senatorial pooling of issues is seen in the simple fact that there are 7318 officers subject to Senatorial confirmation, and of these 3593 belong to the Civil Service. These appointees have virtually the power to fill vacancies in 120,000 lower offices. The amount of business done by our Senate, in its own secret and busy way, is illustrated by the fact that within the last year it has acted upon 2456 nominations, including 150 second nominations of the same person. Mr. Eaton suggests that the votes and speeches on these nominations would be very interesting reading. "We should know, for example, by whose votes so disreputable a nomination as that for Thomas, of Maryland, was confirmed."

Senatorial defense for the continuance of secret sessions is shown by Mr. Eaton to be weak and untenable upon every ground save "audacious assumption, insolent grasping for mediæval privileges, a cowardly dread of responsibility, and an overpowering desire to conceal something which will not bear the light." Undoubtedly the strongest motive with the Senators in preserving secrecy is fear. This contrasts unfavorably with the courage of their Roman prototypes, or even with that of modern judges and police officers. Senators fear, forsooth, to make enemies. These seventy-six men are entirely willing that the President should bear alone the burden of nominations, often suggested by Senatorial influence, but are unwilling that their part in the business should be understood. It is arrant cowardice for the Senate thus to shirk responsibility for its own acts, and to skulk behind closed doors. John Logan, with all his faults, had the courage of his convictions when he told the Senate that its present method gave a chance for men to vote in secret one way and to talk in public another way. The following words of Logan are an honor to the dead Senator, and a warning to the living: "You gentlemen may revel in the dark for a while over nominations, and delight yourselves to go out and know something that the people do not know. I warn my friends here that the people of this country will know what you do. They will open these doors and they will look in upon you."

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We reprint the following extracts from Mr. Marbury's letter to the *Morning Herald*, which that journal declined to publish.—*Ed. CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.*]

THE "MORNING HERALD" AND THE CASE OF BURGESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

Dear Sir:—It has generally been understood in this country that every man accused of crime is entitled to a fair trial by a jury of twelve impartial men sworn to render a verdict according to the evidence.

No one, not even the editor of a newspaper, has a right to prejudge his case and stir up popular feeling and prejudice against him before the day of trial.

The fact that the accused is poor, obscure, or even black, does not take from him the right to be treated fairly. This proposition will not be denied, and your attention is now respectfully called to a case to which this plain principle of law and of justice may and should be applied.

A few days ago the statement appeared in several of our daily papers, including the *Herald*, that the Grand Jury had presented Mr. Henry G. Fledderman, Sheriff of Baltimore City, for attempting to bribe a voter at the recent Congressional election. This statement was accompanied in the *Herald* with the expression of an opinion on the part of that paper that the charge was a false and preposterous one, and the suggestion that the action of Burgess, the prosecuting witness, was induced by "political spite," etc. This was scarcely fair to Burgess, inasmuch as it was tantamount to a charge of perjury on his part for which no sufficient foundation was stated; neither was it necessary for the vindication of the Sheriff if he were innocent. This, however, might have been passed over in silence but for the appearance of an article in your issue of the 14th inst. on the same subject, to which, as counsel for Burgess, I must take leave to call your serious attention. The headlines (large type) of the article in question were as follows: "Presented for Perjury.—Burgess, the Witness against the Sheriff, in Jail.—His Startling Admission.—The Man who Swore that Fledderman Attempted to Buy His Vote for \$2.00, Says that He Wouldn't Know the Sheriff if He Were to See Him."

The article then goes on to describe the arrest of Burgess by two of Mr. Fledderman's own deputies on the charge of perjury, and at the same time to relate a conversation between Burgess and the said deputies on the way to the jail, in the course of which Burgess is represented as for the first time making the "startling admission" that he "did not even know Mr. Fledderman by sight."

Now, the obvious effect and purpose of this statement was to create the impression that Burgess had "confessed" that he had sworn falsely before the Grand Jury, when the fact is that this "statement of Burgess" was not a revelation or "admission" at all, but, on the contrary, a part of the very evidence which he had previously given before the Grand Jury, and upon which the presentment against the Sheriff had been found. In the course of that testimony Burgess had stated that he did not know Mr. Fledderman, and was not aware that it was the Sheriff who was attempting to bribe him, until he was informed of that fact by some of the bystanders, one at least of whom—C. P. K. Mason—had overheard the conversation, who knew the Sheriff well, and who testified before the Grand Jury at the same time.

If the trial of this case is to be begun in the newspapers, you must, in simple justice, allow the accused a hearing as well as the accuser.

Yours respectfully,

W. L. MARBURY,

Attorney for Burgess.

THE NEWSPAPERS.

It is all very well for flippant, inconsiderate or ungrateful men to decry the bridge that carried them safely over, but the more prudent, discerning and just will not so easily forget it. The speech of Senator Wilson was sound from beginning to end, and our only regret is that his current of thought does not prompt him as well against bad men as against bad measures. Had he made his actions as strong as his words, we believe that no such nominations as those of Rasin, Morris Thomas or Downes could have been confirmed by the Senate or even made by the President. It is in resisting the appointment of bad or unsuitable men to office that as much good can be done as in declaring sound doctrine.—*Hagerstown Mail* (Dem.).

THE letter which Mr. Combs, the removed General Appraiser of Maryland, has sent to the President is a manly statement of his case, and confirms the view which we took of it at the outset, namely, that it is one of the worst offenses yet charged to the Cleveland administration. Mr. Combs was not only removed without cause, but without courtesy. He makes the serious charge that an official answer from Secretary Manning to his telegram of inquiry about his removal was suppressed by Eugene Higgins, the disgraceful Appointment Clerk of the Treasury Department. Higgins made the excuse that it was not sent "because they feared it might complicate the appointment." This is a charge which Mr. Manning ought not to allow to go unanswerred. If Higgins has power to suppress official documents and communications, his presence in the Department is a much worse scandal than has hitherto been supposed, and it has always been bad enough.—*N. Y. Evening Post* (Ind.).

In our comments in the last number on the cases of the district attorneys removed for political activity, we expressed the opinion that the reinstatement of Mr. Benton was a grave mistake, and that it was aggravated by the President's subsequent letter refusing to reinstate Mr. Stone, on the ground that the latter's political activity had been in opposition to the Administration. The President's course in these cases is made to appear in a still worse light by well-authenticated reports, which have appeared since our last number was published, and which show pretty conclusively that Benton, though speaking on the Democratic platform in the campaign, persistently opposed and denounced the policy of the Administration. We give the following sample extracts from his speeches:

"I don't agree with President Cleveland in everything. I don't believe in his Civil-Service humbuggery. I do believe in genuine Civil-Service Reform, but I don't want men under me to work every conceivable dodge to defeat me and my party at the next election. But he believes it, and he is a man of iron nerve. . . .

"I don't agree with Mr. Cleveland on the silver question. He was raised east of the Allegheny Mountains, and he gets his ideas from that region. He never has been west of Buffalo. . . . He gets his ideas on finance from the goldbugs of Wall street, who once demonetized silver, and had it, the dollar, stricken from the Coinage Act, clandestinely and without the consent of the people. He learns his financial theories from Wall street, the leeches which suck the honest blood of the yeomanry of the West like vampires. That's where Mr. Cleveland gets his ideas of finance. When he wrote his gratuitous letter on the subject of silver coinage, even before he was inaugurated as President, he illustrated where he got his ideas; and he struck a blow at the West in the interests of the bondholders and money sharks, and I felt like sinking down in my boots. But when Reagan, of Texas, and others, stood up in their dignified manhood and wrote to him that he was the Executive and not the law-making power, and I saw these Democrats battling for their rights and the rights of the people against his assumption, I rejoiced again that I was a Democrat."

It is very clear that the President should have stood by his first act of removal in both cases.—*The Civil-Service Record* (Ind.).

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN MARYLAND.

A NUMBER of prominent members of the Democratic party of the State of Maryland met at the Rennert House, in Baltimore, on Thursday, for the purpose of discussing plans for the reorganization of the party.

Among those present were Ex-Gov. Hamilton and Senator Lane, of Washington County; Gen. Bradley T. Johnson and C. Lyon Rogers, of Baltimore County; Louis McLane, John K. Cowen, Thos. McCosker, John Stewart, Joseph Packard, Jr., G. Harlan Williams, Major R. M. Venable, and W. A. Hanway, of Baltimore City; John S. Wirt, Albert Constable and Dr. R. C. Mackall, of Cecil; John Moores, Ex-Sheriff Forwood and G. Smithers Townsend, of Harford; Philip Laird, of Montgomery; David Lynn, of Allegany; Col. J. E. R. Wood, of Frederick; Samuel Brooke, of Anne Arundel; John Dodd, of Queen Anne; E. L. F. Hardcastle and Wm. R. Martin, of Talbot; Col. Bryant, of Caroline; Hope Barroll, of Kent; James T. Briscoe, of Calvert, and others. Many others responded by letter.

The conference was organized by making Ex-Gov. Hamilton President, and Vice-Presidents E. L. F. Hardcastle, of Talbot; John Moores, of Harford, and Dr. R. C. Mackall, of Cecil; Secretaries, P. D. Laird, of Montgomery; John S. Wirt, of Cecil, and John Dodd, of Queen Anne.

The following address and accompanying resolution were adopted:

To the Democratic Voters of the State of Maryland:

A large majority of the voters of the State are Democrats, and the Democratic party has absolute control and direction of our State government, and of every department under it. Therefore it is, as it should be, held responsible for any and all wrongs, abuses or evils in the public service, and of whatever kind, whether legislative or administrative. That wrongs, abuses and evils do exist in legislation and administration, as in party organization and management, is undoubted and apparent. Large numbers of our Democratic people are becoming more profoundly impressed of this, and of the absolute necessity of a thorough change and reformation. There is a certain and general discontent, and an evident longing among the disinterested masses of the party for better methods and practices in party organization, and for better government. Under the prevailing discontent and dissatisfaction, party ties, with many good, thinking people, are gradually but manifestly weakening.

In this State, upon several occasions in late years, they have been fearfully strained, threatening a wreck of the party. Unless this be arrested by remedial measures and methods, there is a crowning dan-

ger of disaster that the principles, the honor and the renown of the party do not deserve, and our devotion to it should inspire the effort to save it from perils.

The time has come, and is more opportune and necessary, as the call is now pending for a convention to revise our present Constitution, and which, if called, involves the whole structure of our Government, and of every branch of the public service, both general and municipal, when direct and practical efforts be made toward renewing the inner life of the party and making it again what it should always be—the preserver and promoter of all that is good and pure and hopeful in government.

To this end there must be organization for measures, policies and methods, as distinguished from the contests for men or merely for office. The ambitions of men or the personal interests of individuals must be put out of sight, and everything must be made subordinate to the great general purpose. Candidates for office must only appear as the fitness of the occasion may require, and only as the representatives of ideas and objects, and not from personal desire or ambition sought to be subserved or gratified. Measures and policies, methods and practices, are the cardinal objects always to be kept foremost in view. If existing abuses, wrongs and evils are once reformed or removed, and good government re-established, and better, fairer and purer party methods and practices accepted, everything involved in this movement is accomplished. The principal means to accomplish the desired results are prominently before the public mind and continually address themselves to the conscience of the party.

Fit, capable, honest and resolute men as legislators, and like men for all other official positions, whose sole object will be to discharge the trusts confided to them and to promote in every way the public welfare. With such in place and power there is but little danger to the interests of the people, either from imperfect or even bad laws or the absence of law.

To this end, party primary meetings have an important function, and wherever necessary they should have the protection of the most efficient laws against either violence or fraud; being protected, it should be regarded as the duty of a Democrat to take an active interest in these meetings and in conventions, so that the will of the party be expressed in fit nominations. In conjunction there is necessarily required a more complete and perfect system of registration of voters for Baltimore, together with the thorough revision and reformation of our election laws, so as to prevent, as far as legal agencies can, the perpetration of fraud at elections, especially in Baltimore, where, whenever an emergency required, frauds have been committed that stained the honor of the city and made the election a mockery and a crime. Fit nominations avail nothing against corrupt and expert manipulators and fraudulent voters manufactured to win. The registration of voters and the conduct of elections should be above suspicion and stainless. Here rest the security of the people of the State and the integrity and virtue of the party.

Bribery at elections is a growing and alarming evil, and should be suppressed with a firm hand. Equally so with the extraordinary and unnecessary use of money at elections, which can only be intended, either directly or indirectly, to corrupt or seduce the voter.

The lobby—the dealers in legislation and offices—buying and selling legislation and offices of public trust, should no longer be tolerated. It is a crime both against the people and the State, and should be dealt with accordingly.

That all useless offices and all establishments not needed in the government of the State be abolished; that salaries be moderate and fair, and proportioned to the pay of others performing similar services in private employments, and that all extra compensation or allowances, charges or gratuities, are wrongful and should not be allowed. That rigid economy be practised in every branch of the public service, the revenues of the State husbanded, the public debt paid and taxation reduced.

That all public officers be held to the strictest accountability; that in every respect they be required to observe the laws; that receivers of public moneys be required promptly to pay over the same, and that the laws against delinquencies, either in collection or payment over, be rigidly enforced, and if not sufficiently strong, to make them so; that taxes, whether direct or indirect, be reduced to the lowest minimum necessary to the actual needs of the public service.

That the specific taxes levied to pay the public debt be religiously applied, and that all the provisions of the Constitution and laws for the creation and preservation of the sinking fund for the payment of the debt be faithfully observed and enforced.

That offices are alone created for the service of the people, and not as the property of individuals, to be bestowed as a reward or in consideration of past, present or future personal services. One of the highest obligations of the appointing power to the people is that in appointment to office, selection be made with reference to the public interests and not for personal aggrandizement.

That offices necessary for the purposes of government are public trusts. It is the patriotic duty of the Democrat to serve the public when reasonably required in any position for which he may be fitted, and especially in the honorary or non-compensating positions of juror, registrar of voters, judge and clerk of elections and member of the Legislature, and all other like positions, whether State or municipal, or however humble, as these are, in fact, the foundation-stones of our republican institutions.

That the assessment of officeholders, whether municipal, State, or national, for political or election purposes, is wrong, as is also the

payment of any money by them for such purposes, and the same should be prohibited by law. The subordinate and purely administrative offices, having no relation to the policies of government, should be prohibited from all aggressive and offensive interference in primary meetings, nominating conventions and elections.

That rings, bosses and leadership, and all other combinations of men within the party formed or organized to promote personal interest or the aggrandizement of individuals, are dangerous to the peace, unity and integrity of the party; are mischievous, corrupting and tyrannical, and should be discountenanced, and discouraged, and abated. All Democrats should stand equal before the party and have an equal and impartial consideration for its confidence and honors, and only be distinguished from one another as their merits may justify, and no Democrat should be ostracized, excluded or discarded because of differences or preferences as to men.

It is manifest that these purposes cannot be accomplished until the fraudulent elections in the city of Baltimore are superseded by a fair vote and honest canvass of votes cast in that city, for it is by power wielded through these fraudulent elections that laws are made for the counties without regard to their rights or interests, and taxes paid by them are squandered in jobs and corrupt expenditures.

The question is not whether success shall attend upon our efforts, but the question is whether the effort shall be made, and with that courage, sincerity and zeal that shall deserve, if it should not command, entire success. With these general purposes in view, impressed with their importance, not only for the good of the whole people, but for the continued supremacy of the Democratic party in the State in its integrity and purity, the following resolution is proposed:

Resolved, That our Democratic fellow-citizens of the counties and of the city of Baltimore who are in sympathy with these purposes meet in a general meeting to be held in Baltimore on Wednesday evening, the 12th of January, 1887, to take into full consideration what action may be thought necessary and expedient to be taken in the premises.

Ex-Gov. Hamilton was ordered to appoint a committee on organization, and another to prepare an address and resolutions to be submitted to the general meeting to be held on Wednesday, the 12th day of January, as provided for in the resolution framed by the conference.

PERSONAL.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL's resignation from the British Cabinet will grieve the editors of the New York *Tribune* and Baltimore *Sun*, and Hon. James G. Blaine.

JAIL WARDEN MORRISON, President of the Crescent Club, must have thought he was "attending to public duties" when he rose to quell the "loud noise" at the banquet. Was he joking when he announced "that he thought he was in the presence of gentlemen"?

REPRESENTATIVE COMPTON declares it to be his belief that the present Democratic organization is in a healthy and admirable condition, and does not need reforming. Does Mr. Compton think that a healthy organization would allow "him and Higgins" to represent it?

EUGENE HIGGINS is bravely sustaining his bad character. His insolence in suppressing Secretary Manning's telegram to General Appraiser Combs, because he thought "it might complicate" the appointment of Gorman's henchman, Downes, would merit and receive instant dismissal, if it were not that Senator Gorman is master of that situation, and not the Secretary.

WHAT was the exact character of President Cleveland's "prior promise" which secured Gorman a place for Downes? If Assistant Secretary Fairchild knows, he would afford a world of satisfaction to the people of Maryland if he would tell. Was it a *carte blanche* for all the Maryland offices?

MR. C. R. FAULKNER, Chief of the Record Division of the Pension Office, writes to a member of the Indiana Legislature: "I would not vote for Holman or for any man who voted for the Civil-Service Law. It is bad enough to vote for that kind of men at the polls. . . . If you cast your vote for any man who voted for the Civil-Service Law, you may count my vote against you forever."

THE sympathy and praise expended by the press and public on John T. Morris, committed for contempt of court, has passed all bounds of reason. Were the Methodist preachers who asked for resolutions of sympathy aware that Mr. Morris, by his own confession, was indirectly a party to a crime? The members of the Grand Jury are sworn to secrecy. The reporter knew that when he received and published one of their secrets.

THE supervisors of elections have declined to allow the Baltimore Reform League to see the list of judges of election who served last fall. No wonder. "Fifteen judges of election indicted for malfeasance, and two serving long terms in the penitentiary for murdering a man," are enough to induce such hesitation.

OF course it was only a coincidence that Mayor Hodges and THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER should quote exactly the same sentence from Burke in regard to the limits of party allegiance. Indeed, it is only fair to His Honor to admit that he has discontinued his subscription to the paper, and that unless he has been reading the Calumet Club's copy, he is entitled to the credit of having found the quotation for himself. THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, by the way, is not the only thing of the kind that the Mayor has discontinued.

MR. ISIDOR RAYNER cruelly defers the fulfilment of his dreadful threats. The Grand Jury has certainly had time enough to listen to his complaints, and yet the editorial managers of this journal have neither been called upon for bail, nor are they languishing in dungeon cells. If a libel be a writing published which tends to bring a man into contempt, or expose him to ridicule before the public, Mr. Rayner might induce the Grand Inquest to find a bill against himself, in the nature of *felo de se*, for that letter of his.

THE verdict of murder in the second degree in the Curran murder case was, perhaps, all that could have been expected under the circumstances. The technicalities of the law may sometimes make that verdict a proper one, even when the murder has been accomplished with all the cowardice and cruelty which attended the brutal crime of Kennedy and Burke. Three years from now, when public attention is averted, the spoils system will give the murderers their liberty, if it is then in power. Even Governor Lloyd dare not grant the pardon now. We can anticipate the argument: "Young men. Have behaved well in penitentiary. The jury recommended them to mercy." This, with the names of powerful politicians and some mawkish sentimentalists attached, will do the business.

The attention of our subscribers is invited to the special notice which appeared in the December issue. Our subscription list has now reached such proportions that it is impossible to make personal collections of subscriptions. Those whose subscriptions have expired are requested to notify the Business Manager at once if they do not wish to renew them. The expiration mark on the printed address shows in what month the subscription expires. Prompt payment at the office of the paper is requested. Bills and receipts will not be sent unless asked for. The subscription is still one dollar a year, in advance.

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pointed in this precinct was a saloon-keeper with defective eyesight, and a criminal record of course, and although removed by the supervisors they seem to have gotten a very satisfactory successor. "Handsome is that handsome does."

In the Second Precinct of the Eighth Ward repeaters were freely voted with the connivance of the judges, they offering votes on the names of registered voters who were perfectly well known to the judges. The return judge of this precinct is the driver of a garbage cart, of course with a criminal record, and, it is said, was caught changing the ballots. Here, too, more ballots were found in the box than were cast.

In the Seventh Precinct of the Tenth Ward there were 48 more votes in the box than were cast. The return judge first appointed was turned down and a saloon-keeper, not registered in the precinct, and therefore ineligible, was put in his place. He also was duly qualified by a fair record in the Criminal Court, one of his indictments being for assault with intent to kill. The Republican judge first appointed being a Democratic inebriate, whose whole property was in the hands of a trustee for that reason, was removed, I believe, after I tried to make one of your editorials specific, so as to turn the electric light on little patches of the criminal conspiracy to cheat us of our votes.

In the Sixth Precinct of the Fourteenth Ward there were 76 more tickets in the box than even the clerk's tally-books showed had voted, although the clerks were appointed by the same system. The Republican judge of this precinct was an old and inefficient man.

In the Third Precinct of the Sixteenth Ward, again, more ballots were in the box than were cast.

In the First Precinct of the Eighteenth Ward thirty-seven more ballots were in the box than the poll-list showed were cast. In this precinct the first return judge appointed was the discharged ex deputy-sheriff-saloon-keeper-dog-catcher, with the usual record in the Criminal Court. He, for some reason, did not serve. The Republican judge, I believe, objected to his vote, on the ground that his ballot contained manifestly more than one ticket. The return judge accepted it, however, which fact, with the thirty-seven false ballots in the box, proved his fitness to be the successor of the dog-catcher.

In the Sixth Precinct of the Eighteenth Ward there was found one ticket with five puddings in it. There were a number of puddings in the box, and the return judge, it seems, vigorously stirred up the tickets at the close of the poll. The return judge, I believe, has some collateral qualifications: he is a brother of one of the wardens of the Jail, and, it is said, was judge at a former election when some fifty more votes were counted than were cast. I believe the man first appointed as a Republican judge was a Democrat—very old, who can neither read nor write, and who lives with one of the Jail wardens. Charges having been preferred against this sort of a Republican judge, a successor was appointed. The selection seems to have been made *à la* Thornton, as forty-two more votes were found in the box than were shown to be cast by the clerk's lists.

In the Seventh Precinct of the Eighteenth Ward, the representative of the Labor and Republican parties went into the room to witness the count. He was kept in such a position that he could not watch the polls, which were placed in a corner of the room. He was jostled and pushed, and had his hat tipped over his eyes by persons in the room, about fifteen members of the Banner Club, a Democratic ward organization, having been admitted to the polling-place. As the tickets were called off the Labor representative tallied 140 votes for Ogle, the Labor candidate. When the return was made by the judges, Ogle had eighty-eight votes. The return judge was a saloon-keeper, and was, I am informed, discharged from the Fire Department on account of drunkenness. The second judge belongs to the same crowd, and the Republican judge, in violation of law, first offered the appointment of clerk to one Democrat, who declined it, and then gave it to the Democratic keeper of the Banner Club House.

In the Second Precinct of the Thirteenth Ward there were fifty-one more votes found in the box than were cast.

An examination of some of the poll-books, as returned by the judges and clerks, indicates a new form of suffrage, which may be designated as "alliterative voting." For example, on the clerk's books there will be found, say, fifteen names entered; there will be six A's in their order, four B's in their order, and five M's. On close examination it will be found that one of the A's is stricken off by drawing a pen through the same; the reason of this will appear from the fact that the voter with this name had already voted, as shown by his name appearing on another page of the poll-book. Upon careful inquiry as to the fourteen names thus placed upon the book and copied therein in this alphabetical order, it appears that none of the persons so named had voted. This is a matter of frequent occurrence, and indicates a system of platoon voting behind the window.

Of some nineteen precincts that were examined by the Reform League (and this is just scratching the surface), there were, on an average, about fifty votes per precinct found in the boxes more than the clerk's list—the official tally—showed were cast. This same ratio throughout the city would make the snug majority of 9000.

Now let me give you what the Grand Jury said. Their report was published in your columns, but you never gave it a word of editorial comment (although you did comment on the report of the Grand Jury of Baltimore County, calling attention to the needed reforms in that particular political subdivision of the State). Here is what the city Grand Jury said: "As instructed by Your Honor, the Grand Jury gave much time and attention to such violations of the election laws as were brought to their attention, and in the discharge of their duty indicted a number of the judges and clerks. This investigation has made it clear to this body that many of the judges and clerks were appointed for other reasons than their special fitness for the discharge of the delicate and responsible duties required of them. Two of those who had been selected to act as judges were indicted for murder, and have since been tried, convicted and sentenced. The appointment of such men argues either that the Board of Supervisors were imposed upon by designing men, and did not take the time necessary to properly inform themselves, or else they abused the high and important trust confided to them. What all good citizens demand is a fair vote and an honest count. The system of multiplied precincts is well enough if only honest men be appointed to receive and count the ballots; otherwise this or any other system must be a failure, the great number of voting-places making it an easy matter to receive and count a few fraudulent ballots at each, and change the entire result of an election."

Nineteen of the Grand Jury were Democrats. Their report shuts up the three supervisors I have named to two alternatives: (1) Either they were criminally careless in appointing, without due inquiry, judges whose names were sent to them by "designing men"; or (2) "they abused the high and important trust confided to them" by appointing judges of election "for other reasons than their special fitness for the discharge of the delicate and responsible duties required of them."

Now, what are the facts as to these supervisors? It is well known that some of the judges and clerks were changed the day or night before the election, so that the list published, according to law, did not give the names of all the judges. The vigilant attorney of the Reform League made a request of the supervisors, in writing and also verbally, for permission to make a copy of the official list of the judges and clerks, and the answer was that they had no such list. It had been destroyed. Remember, these judges and clerks had been appointed for a year; and were an election, say upon the Eastern Shore Railroad ordinance, for instance, to take place before next fall, they are the officers who would have charge of the ballots; and yet the list has been destroyed by the supervisors. Does not this report of the Grand Jury imperatively demand of the supervisors a statement of the names of the "designing men" on whose recommendation they appointed their long list of criminal judges? Do they now not owe it to the public to show from what source they obtained their several lists? Either they were imposed upon by "designing men," or else they were in collusion with the

men who suggested these names. If they do not explain that they were imposed upon, there is but one inference that can be drawn from the appointments, and that is that they shared in the general design.

Let them give the names of the "designing men" who commended to them Burke and Kennedy, with their long criminal records, and also their associate Republican judge, who had been indicted for larceny, though acquitted on the record.

We have confined our instances thus far to the election of 1886 because it is fresher in the public mind. Any treatment of this subject, however, would be incomplete without at least a brief allusion to the election of 1885. It would extend to too great a length this already too long letter were I to go into the details of the fraudulent election of that year; but by way of refreshing your recollection let me recall the open and unblushing frauds of the registers in disfranchising, on a well-defined system, nearly three thousand voters of this city, a number equal to the entire so-called majority of Mayor Hodges. Probably you remember Mincher, the register who illegally, under the two entries, respectively, of "Lost Residence" and "Lost His Residence," struck off 229 negro voters, while not a white voter was struck off with that peculiar entry opposite his name. You may also remember that it was shown upon his trial that the registration books were regularly kept at night in the house of Morris A. Thomas, that careful guardian of the purity of the ballot, who some years since was caught, while judge of election, stuffing the ballot-box with tickets which he kept up his sleeve, like Bill Nye's heathen Chinese "in the game he did not understand." Morris, you know, has now gone to practise his fine art upon those other persons known in our Constitution as "Indians, not taxed."

In this trial of Mincher, who was the only register convicted, it came out that one King, who was drawing pay from the city in the Tax Office, was really absent from his post and assisting Mincher in his illegal work. Now, can you explain how, when Mincher engaged in these registration frauds, a man from one of the city departments should absent himself from his duties to help him in his fraudulent work? Why should King, who had nothing to do with registration, but who was in the employ of the city in an entirely different capacity, be desirous to help in getting up Mincher's style of registration? A Mr. Gawthrop also figured as an assistant to Mincher, and he, it turned out, kept office for Morris Thomas aforesaid.

I will only give you one or two instances in regard to this election, though I could go through ward by ward and show its detailed frauds. In the Second Precinct of the Thirteenth Ward there were only 461 persons registered. Of this number, necessarily, there would be a considerable proportion not voting, and also, according to the well-established ratio, there would be nearly twenty per cent. who were either dead, had removed from the city or from the State or from the ward, and were no longer voters therein. The total vote, however, returned was 453—within eight of the entire number of registered voters. A single witness, looking at the list, gave the names of fourteen persons who were dead, and many of them known to the judges to be dead. Here are three judges selected from the precinct, partly because of their supposed knowledge of the voters therein, who vote all its dead and all of the non-residents who happen to appear upon its registration lists. There would seem in this precinct to have been a resurrection such as has not occurred since the assassination of Julius Cæsar, when

"The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets."

In the Second Precinct of the Eighteenth Ward, where the register had stricken off a very large proportion of the legal voters, there were thirty-five pudding tickets in the box, and the precinct which gave Blaine 149 majority returned a majority of six for Hodges.

I could go over precinct by precinct and demonstrate a system of organized fraud. I could give you the names of many of the judges of election whose careers were even more marked than the worthies of '86. I could show many

precincts with stuffed ballot-boxes, but time and space forbid such amplification of proof. I call your attention to two salient points in this election: (1) A detailed comparison of the vote for Cleveland and Blaine with that for Hodges and Brown shows that in a large number of the precincts where Hodges had a majority the Hodges vote, as returned, would greatly exceed that of Cleveland, while the Brown vote was equal to that of Blaine—a strange result, as the vote in a Presidential election is always larger than in a municipal election, and rendered still stranger by the fact that the vote in the city as a whole, even in this election, was less than the aggregate vote in the Presidential campaign. Any one who will study the figures carefully will be led irresistibly to the conclusion that there was a system of fraud, unless he believes that the double-sixes can be thrown a hundred times in succession without being loaded. (2) The so-called majority for Mayor Hodges was given by the three wards whose Democratic executives are famous for their crimes—the Ninth, with "Bud" Kittingham; the Seventeenth, with Jim Busey, and the Second, with Fritz Buckheimer. Outside of these three wards the majority was for Judge Brown.

But now let us look at the third ground for our charge. We claim that our rulers are not only nominated in primaries conducted by criminals and elected to office by criminal methods, but that in their official acts, more especially their appointments to office, they recognize their responsibility to the criminal class. We do not mean simply those guilty of political crime, but those who violate all law, who get into the Criminal Court on all manner of indictments; men whom even our police find it necessary to arrest for the vilest offenses not political; whose life is a violation of all law, and an outrage upon all decency. These compose the working strength of the organization, and receive from our municipal government, as I shall show, deference and recognition.

This class is absolutely non-political. It will flock to the service of any party in the city that gets rotten enough to need it and has the food wherewith it may be fed. It was the strength of that lawless organization that called itself the Know-Nothing party. The good people of the State were awakened to a perception of what that party was by the murder of Ky'e, just as the real methods of the present gang have been published throughout the State through the murder of Curran. The same old crowd and the same old work. In that case the same class aided an irresponsible organization, calling itself a political party, to practically disfranchise the decent people of this city, and to govern without having a popular majority. It was by the good people of the counties that the right of self-government was restored to the city.

Let me now cite some evidence to show that the powers that be defer to and recognize this class.

1. It is impossible to investigate the appointees in all the wards and the criminal records thereof. Doubtless more and more light will be shed on them as this movement goes on. Circumstances, however, have led to a very close examination of one of the "banner wards," as they are called, to wit, the Seventeenth. We there find that our Mayor appoints to the important and lucrative position of Superintendent of Streets, for the whole district in which that ward lies, *Mr. James F. Busey*, the Democratic ward executive. Busey has been indicted twelve times and arrested thirty-nine times. Many of his offenses have been of the most brutal character, in some cases for committing assaults upon women. His influence has also been recognized by the appointment of his son Edward to a position in Washington.

Mr. Richard Carter, of that same ward, has been put in a position in the Printing Office at Washington, though under indictment at the time of appointment for a most brutal assault. Mr. Carter has only been *indicted four times and only arrested nine times*. He is, however, much younger than Busey, and has a bright political future if the "life of the Democratic party" is spared. In point of fact, he is a man of far more brutal character even than Busey, and the mere look of the wretch would secure him the attention of the police in any other city. He is the brother-in-law of the city councilman of the Seventeenth Ward.

Mr. Mike Murphy draws a salary in the Street-Cleaning Department. He is a pal of Carter. I have not the number of his arrests, but they are more numerous than edifying. His last appearance in the Criminal Court was on the occasion of the assault with intent to kill James Hogan, whose irregularity was threatening the life of the Democratic party in that section. This assault was made by Carter, Murphy, and a brother of Murphy. Of course they were acquitted. There was no possible doubt of their guilt, and a more cold-blooded piece of business was never enacted. None of the accused testified in their own behalf.

John Murphy, or "*Butch*," as he is called, has had about the same criminal record as Mike. He was appointed page in the city council, then advanced to the position of door-keeper with increased salary during the present session. A purer specimen of thug never lived, even in India. He occupies a very confidential relation to the councilman from that ward, and his appointment met with no opposing vote in the council. And so it goes.

We find that of twenty-five men from that ward who draw pay from the public treasury, nineteen have a criminal record. The ward is literally garrisoned by a gang of cutthroats in the public pay. This is suggestive, but would be incomplete without one further statement. There are several gentlemen who hold city offices in that ward who have no criminal record, and who are found to have personally lived reputable lives. They are men in comparatively easy circumstances and owning a little property. One acquainted with the methods of the city organization is puzzled at first to know what service these men are appointed for. On examination, we find that they are appointed to office that there may be in that ward recognized bondsmen to bail out the statesmen promptly when they are arrested for these assaults by which the ward is held. One of these, for example, is James Graham, the market-master, a perfectly inoffensive man, but who appears on the recognizances of the statesmen nearly every week of the year. This is a truth that is stranger than fiction, but can be verified by the station-house dockets. Our city government actually appoints men to office whose function it shall be to bail the members of the gang and save them from imprisonment until other influences, well known around the court, can get rid of the trouble or cause it to "blow over," as Higgins expressed it.

2. We have elsewhere alluded to the fact that has been the subject of so much comment, that Burke and Kennedy were advanced to seats at the "governmental table" just before Curran was removed, although one was a Republican and one a kicker. There was absolutely nothing to entitle these men to party recognition except their long record of arrests, their brutal character and the dark neighborhood suspicion of their having together been implicated in the murder of a soldier whose body was found with marks of violence upon it. These were selected by the "designing men" mentioned by the Grand Jury either for the crime they had committed or the crime they were expected to commit, for they were not even members of the party.

3. *John Bletzer* was appointed Republican judge in the Sixth Precinct of the Second Ward. The Reform party protested, but he was kept in. The returns for his precinct showed that Hodges received twenty per cent. more votes than Cleveland, though Judge Brown received about the same vote as Blaine. This is a little strange, but a short time afterwards Hodges appointed Bletzer as a lamplighter. Now, Hodges had stated distinctly that none but those who served the party should have seats at the "governmental table"—probably the most vulgar statement of the "Swill Theory" of politics ever made. We may, therefore, define a Hodges Democrat as a man who takes office as a Republican and commits fraud for the regular party. There could be no better comment on the Crescent Club speech of His Honor, when he distinctly laid it down as a principle that the secret of party enthusiasm was the desire to get office. That one whose conception of a party is a herd of swine scrambling at a trough should show that he lived up to his profession is not strange. There never was a more degrading doctrine than that set forth in Mayor Hodges' speech, and there never was a finer illustration of the impurity of a political

organization than his appointment of this man, whose only possible service would be fraud.

4. The Ninth Ward, in which a majority of about a thousand is "rolled up," is managed by a statesman named John J. Mahon, too well known under his name "Sonny" to need description. "Sonny" has a brother named Jimmy Mahon, and Jimmy was register of voters at the last Mayoralty election. In that office he struck from the list of voters a large number of names, consisting almost entirely of those of men in opposition. There was no doubt of his guilt; it was clear as noonday, and he really had no defense, but yet the jury hung. *As soon as it could be done without attracting notice, one of these jurymen was appointed to an office which he still holds.* Is not this rather a palpable explanation of how that jury came to hang? Does it not show how the thing is done? Does it not answer your question as to how our criminals can rule us in spite of a faithful judiciary? An indicted official—an overwhelming case—a hung jury—a jurymen appointed to office. Can you not connect these facts?

5. You have said that we have a pure judiciary. So we have. We got it against the bitterest opposition of the whole party organization in the city. It was to get rid of it that the same city organization worked so violently for the Constitutional Convention Bill last winter. Why an organization which fights most bitterly against the election of a set of judges admittedly good, and then actually makes the getting rid of them a party measure warranting a change in the constitution, is not a criminal organization, is a matter which you must explain, for I cannot. But this is aside.

The first reformatory act of the new judges, whose high character and proper attention to their duties you so justly commend, was to remove from the neighborhood of the jury-box three creatures who had been nesting in the very walls of the courthouse. Their presence was a most glaring abomination of the former administration, and it had many. People hoped that men who had been removed under these circumstances would be seen no more. Not so. These could not be so turned off. The party had to recognize them. They were immediately appointed to other offices, and have been provided for at the public expense from that day to this. Two of them are now in the service of the United States—"Sonny" Mahon as special agent at the Custom-House, and "Hack" Quinn as "*clerk*." The latter appointment was made not without some sense of the humor of the situation, as "Hack" reads with considerable pain and anguish, and his clerical faculty was never suspected by his most intimate friend.

Has not the "party" recognized and bowed to the criminal class in the retention and rewarding of such men? If not, will you please let me know what strictly political necessity there was for keeping them in the city's pay, and for finding offices for them immediately on their discharge by a purified judiciary?

I stop, not because there are not more, but because it gets tiresome. Time would fail me to tell of George Konig, keeper of the drawbridge; of "Bill" Durm and his carts; of Thomas Knox and his unclean record, and of the host of worthies who, through "faith and patience," have all inherited something or other. You see from the few facts that I have given (a mere hasty culling from an immense mass that lies before me) that even a superficial examination by the Reform League, kept up during a short time, has brought forth facts of the most disgusting character. Though I have culled but a few, yet I feel as if I was warden of some one of our penal institutions, and with that qualification almost entitled to be a part of the "officialty" of the Crescent Club.

So much for direct evidence of the criminal character of the organization; but there is an indirect evidence from the tacit confessions that is to me far stronger still. A recognized and confessed criminal can refuse to explain suspicious facts, and stand on his privilege of not committing himself. He puts in his plea of not guilty and never opens his mouth, trusting to some failure of the evidence. A man of character and standing cannot refuse to explain, nor can a party organization. It is always liable to be called on for explana-

tion, and must answer fully. Now, it is a noticeable feature of the action of this organization that neither it nor its people will ever answer or explain. Burke and Kennedy, though they had the privilege of testifying in their own behalf, never opened their lips. Carter, Mike Murphy and "Butch" Murphy, when tried for the still more cold-blooded assault with intent to kill James Hogan, sat dumb as statues, and they returned to the duties of their respective offices without ever saying whether they were guilty or not. It is well recognized at the State's Attorney's office that the individual statesman, when on trial, never submits to a cross-examination; he relies upon the influences behind the jury-box as implicitly as does the organization upon those behind the window.

When Morris Thomas was asked to explain specific charges of crime, he stated that he relied upon the vindication he had received at the last election; that is, upon the work of Thornton, Fritz Buckheimer, and the "sneaking manipulators," as you call them, behind the window.

The organization pursues the same policy. We asked why the Governor retained Thornton as supervisor, in spite of the protest of some of the most prominent men in the city, after he had confessed the criminal purpose with which he was making his appointments. We got no answer. We asked why, after scandal had arisen, and his attention had been called, he again appointed three miscreants to do the same sort of work, and no answer. The same guilty silence. We were entitled to an answer. We ask how the supervisors seem to appoint none but tramps and jail-birds. If it is accidental, it can be explained. Still no answer.

"Silent still, and silent all."

We ask how it comes that when Curran has broken the solidity of a big ward, two of the most notorious cutthroats in the city are selected from outside the party, given offices in that ward, and immediately murder the man giving trouble? Do the supervisors explain? Far from it. They immediately destroy the only evidence that can throw any light upon the matter or establish their own innocence, if they be innocent. It is not too much to say that they act precisely as the pickpocket does—throws away the purse as soon as he has gotten the money out of it. We ask why does Higgins come all the way from Washington down to Locust Point to tell a witness of that tragedy that it is a matter of no account and will "blow over"? Again no explanation. *Gentlemen, that fact, until it be explained, can have but one meaning, and that is that the murder of Curran was a thing for which the organization was responsible, was done as its measure, and that the murderers must be protected.* Do you know any other explanation? If you do, I shall be interested to have it. We ask, What need has the party for a thing of darkness like Higgins at all, and why he should be kept in office at Washington against the remonstrance and to the disgust of the whole country? Have you ever heard any explanation offered? The whole country has been puzzled to understand it. I ask any fair-minded man, Does not his retention, in the face of the protest of the country, mean that the keeping of Billy Forrester out of jail, the saving of Burke and Kennedy, and the stealing of ballots from the clerk's office are things which the organization in this city must do, and that the man who does them is necessary to the party?

When the reform judiciary that you approve of so highly, and which "the party" tried to get rid of last winter by a new constitution, took their seats, they turned out of the courts the three gentlemen I have before mentioned, and reduced the scandal of the Criminal Court considerably by that single act. What was the party necessity which required that these gentlemen should be immediately provided for at the public expense, and that they should be kept in employment even until now? Does it not mean, unless somebody explains it differently, that the organization *must* fix juries and *must* have people to do it? That "Jimmy" Mahon will have to be looked after when he has defiled a registration list, or "Dick" Carter when he has committed an assault with intent to murder? Do you consider this, in all honesty, a strange or violent inference?

But it is not only on the virtual confessions of the guilty

that I rely. I am more firmly persuaded of the strength of my position when I find people who are more temperate and judicial observers than myself taking the same ground. I shall take the statements of your own paper and those of the distinguished president of the leading Democratic club of the city. Of course he cannot be accused of intemperate language about the organization in which he forms so conspicuous a figure. And as for yourselves, you certainly are very measured in your criticism. I verily believe that had the *Sun* been a Sodom daily it would have been filled with vague allusions to the possible wickedness of Gomorrah, and that, even as the fire and brimstone descended, it would have been in the act of warning people against rash statements about a city where business went on so quietly. Certainly you are temperate in your own criticism.

Hear, then, your own language:

In a leading article of November 4, 1882, you say:

"It is the scandalous spectacle, year after year, of tickets fixed and primaries manipulated, of ballot-boxes stuffed and returns falsified. It is the notorious fact that, whether it be one clique or another, whether it be this party or that, the same gang, or some of them, are always uppermost, and the same well-known faces, or some of them, are always grinning behind the party mask. These things disgust all respectable Democrats, and make the staunchest men so indignant or indifferent that, except upon occasions when vital questions of party principle or government appeal to them, they turn their backs upon the polls and prefer to forego rather than prostitute their suffrage. In such a state of affairs, existing now and palpable to the public eyes and nostrils, the duty of the Democratic voter is as plain as day: it is to resist and frustrate by all known means the schemes of the tricksters who make him their tool and abuse his party allegiance to their profit. It is to defeat them in the only way he can defeat them, and that is by defeating their nominees."

Such was the state of the party as described by you in 1882. "Tickets fixed and primaries manipulated, ballot-boxes stuffed and returns falsified." A "gang always uppermost," and "well-known faces" (which one must judge from the connection not to be pretty faces) "grinning behind the party mask," and the duty of a good Democrat to defeat the nominees of the "tricksters."

Do you think the leopard has changed his spots? Read, then, your editorial so late as October, 1886, where you use the following words:

"The purity of the ballot is an old cry, it is true, and so familiar that much of its force and importance is lost, but it is worth working for, and even fighting for, nevertheless, for it is the touchstone to all efficient popular government. This is a matter which concerns the people at large, and unless they are hopelessly corrupt they will not hand over their political salvation to a handful of tricky bosses who here and there fatten upon the very poisons that destroy the true national life."

In the same article, farther down, you speak as follows:

"The ballot-box ought to be shielded from pollution in every possible way and at all hazards, unless we mean to drift back again into the evil methods which once prevailed in our midst, and which all remember with a sense of shame. The man who flourishes his blackjack or awl before the window and drives honest voters away is not one whit worse than the sneaking manipulator who sits behind it and either steals the vote cast or fraudulently substitutes another for it. There is but one proper place for either or both, and that is in the penitentiary, and it is the duty of every good citizen to aid in the prosecution and conviction of such offenders. No party can long survive methods of persistent and deliberate fraud to perpetuate its power. The revulsion in public sentiment will inevitably come, and no matter how strongly it may seem to be entrenched in the place of power, the day of reckoning will find their strongholds built upon the sand, which the tide of public indignation will soon wash away."

Now, as Mr. Weller remarked, that is a "very pretty sentiment," but whom do you mean by it? Are you not, in your different way, using the same intemperate denunciation that I have been scolded for by you?

Who compose this handful of "tricky bosses"? Do they live in Greenland's icy mountains, or on India's coral strand? Are they not gentlemen whom we all know in this city to our sorrow? And what do you mean by saying that "they fatten on the very poisons which destroy the true national life"? Don't you mean that these people subsist on the crime of this city; that they take toll from the gambling-houses and brothels, and sell out patronage in return for the fraud and violence by which their so-called elections are carried through? If you don't mean this, set right those of us who have supposed that that was what you meant.

And when you speak of a man who "flourishes his black-jack or his awl before the window and drives honest voters away," do you not mean "Jim" Busey, who is our Superintendent of Streets, with his thirty-nine arrests and his twelve indictments? Don't you mean "Butch" Murphy, whom our city council delighteth to honor and advances in promotion as his sins accumulate? Don't you honestly mean "Dick" Carter, whom we provided for in the Printing Office at Washington, or Fritz Buckheimer, who is appointed clerk of the Broadway Market, and is to establish a university in the Second Ward? Are you not really abusing all those nineteen statesmen by whose efforts the decent, honest people of the Seventeenth Ward are cowed into submission, but who are kept in public employ through the kindness of our city government and the party organization? And then the "sneaking manipulator," who sits behind the window and steals the vote cast or fraudulently substitutes another for it—don't you mean Morris Thomas, and Burke and Kennedy? Are you not casting a slur upon our supervisors and their appointees? If you keep on at this rate, before you know you will be using language that means something, and will be sorry for it.

But, worse than all, you say at the close that the proper place for either or both is in the penitentiary. Gentlemen, are you not becoming excited in your language? Are you not "speaking evil of dignities"? Have you not, even within three months, been using intemperate language, and leading the people to think that men who take part in our peaceful and orderly city government are proper subjects for the penitentiary? You don't want, I hope, to put people in the penitentiary who do not belong to the criminal class? Even I would not be so intemperate as that. It seems to me that there is nothing very original in the statement which some of the county papers and myself have made about the government of the criminal classes, and I am perfectly willing to accept your amendment; that is, to say that "we are governed by the class that should be in the penitentiary." That expression, if preferred by you, is plenty good enough for me.

Hear now the president of the Crescent Club on this subject:

"A party organization without political principles is a mere modern edition of the Goths or the American version of the 'Forty Thieves.' It has unfortunately happened that men of the latter description (that is, 'thieves') have sometimes, in isolated localities, prostituted the Democratic party to their own selfish ends."

Now, the distinguished president's reference to the "Goths" was good, but I am afraid the "boys" would say, as the English do of an argument they do not understand, "I do not follow the gentleman." The fact is, I am afraid, the worthy president, in his address to his supporters, has been guilty of what in rhetoric is known as a phase of "euphuism"; that is, trying to illustrate what one knows all about (for example, Baltimore election frauds) by what one knows nothing about (*e. g.* the Jim Busey-Seventeenth-Ward style of handling the Romans by the Goths).

The "Forty Thieves," I think, the "boys" would understand, except possibly they could not quite catch the point of the limitation to twoscore, and would make the same objection that I have before spoken of as popular with "the party"—to wit, that it creates a "privileged class."

I really think, however, that both you and the president of the "club" ought to thank me for this letter, because I am only doing what the schoolmaster does with the children of the geography class who are looking at the wrong side of

the globe. I simply turn it so that you can see the "isolated locality" for which you are both so anxiously searching. It is found in latitude 39° 17' 8" north and longitude 25° east of Washington, and by the statute of 1745 was required thereafter "to be called and known by the name of Baltimore Town, and by no other name."

I see that the "gentlemen managers" down at Washington have met the appeal to the counties with the statement that it is "the same old crowd and the same old cry." This is, under all the circumstances, precisely the remark of a celebrated New York statesman, "What are you going to do about it?" That remark was made by a man who was at the head of an organization far stronger, far more compact, and almost as unscrupulous as our own city ring. It, too, organized the criminal class and gave it strength; it, too, fixed its juries; it, too, flattered each year a number of easy-going, respectable men into lending themselves to it by way of whitewash. And yet within a very short time from the making of that remark William M. Tweed was in Ludlow-street jail. May there not be in this an encouragement for those who, like myself, look on such things in an "Oriental" way (I use your word) and speak of them in intemperate language?

One year's work of the Reform League, quiet, patient, methodical work, analogous to that done by Mr. Tilden in New York, has brought to the surface a great deal in relation to this city organization of a kind to make people hesitate in their dealings with it. That work is quietly going on. There are many places where a little quiet examination will bear rich fruit, and, sooner or later, I think the good people of this State, when they see some other facts that will, I doubt not, be forthcoming from other sources than myself, will set down the rule of the party organization in Baltimore City during the last ten years as simply an interesting and sensational chapter in the annals of crime.

My thesis was that the political organization controlling this city is now and has been for years essentially a criminal organization, and that the city is "virtually ruled by its criminal classes." I shall leave candid people to determine whether I have maintained the proposition. Except for your implied challenge, I should have felt that it was a work of supererogation to show that the primaries and elections in this city are carried by crime, because reputable men generally admit it, and no "practical politician" has the hardihood to deny it.

Now one word as to the object of the Democratic Reform movement and the appeal to the counties. I understand the movement has a definite aim, not "reform in its broadest sense," but a specific, particular reform, viz. the enacting by the next Legislature of substantially the Reform League Election Law, most probably modified so as to give annual registrations and the improved glass ballot-boxes. This is in substance the Tilden act, with the improvements adopted by both the Democrats and Republicans of Chicago for that city, and which have been shown to be very advantageous in that locality, where "Mackin" formerly plied his trade of forging election returns. The appeal is to the counties to select only such Democrats as will vote for that law, and whose character and affiliations are such as to render it certain that any pledge they give will be faithfully fulfilled.

The second object of the movement is the sending of delegates to the Democratic State Convention who will give us *at least* a Governor who will appoint election officers absolutely above suspicion to carry out the provisions of the law to the letter. In a word, our object is to restore self-government to Baltimore City. I refuse to enter into a puerile discussion as to whether the bosses who control the city by the means I have thus described have also, by virtue of their solid city phalanx, had practical control of the State. No sane man will deny it. I refuse to consider the question of whether there is general "peace and order" in the city, and whether that general fact shows that our primaries are fair and elections not carried by crime and criminals. "Peace and order" reigned in New York in Tweed's palmiest days, and the great metropolis was full of "prosperity."

Such general facts prove nothing. The criminal class do not rule by committing murder on every street corner, and

picking the locks of deposit companies before the eyes of their watchmen. I have no quarrel with those reputable men who allow themselves to be interviewed in the newspapers in order to say that they see no need of "reform of the party." I simply say again, Do not talk generalities and become entangled with the vagueness of general phrases. The simple question we put to you is, Do you wish to prevent the annual recurrence of the fraudulent elections in Baltimore? If so, do you favor the two measures to prevent it I have described? We have tried the men the bosses send to the Legislature. In 1882 the Tilden law was put into shape and presented to the Legislature and rejected. In 1886 the Reform League election law was prepared with great care and presented to them, but, like the swine of the Scripture, they trampled it under their feet, and turned to rend us by attempting to destroy the sole definite reform of the last fifteen years, to wit, our reformed city judiciary. Now, we are tired of any further appeals to the same source, and, in the language of the old pleas which required a trial by jury, "We put ourselves upon the country."

Yours respectfully,

JOHN K. COWEN.

THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS AT ORATORIO HALL.

A LARGE meeting of Maryland Democrats was held at Oratorio Hall on Wednesday evening, January 12th. The meeting was called to order by Mr. John E. R. Wood, of Frederick County, who announced the following gentlemen as officers: President, James U. Dennis, of Somerset County; vice-presidents, Hon. William Walsh, of Allegany; Robert Bridges, of Washington; Adolphus Fearhake, of Frederick; Dr. Edward Wootten, of Montgomery; Edward Lynch, of Carroll; Henry E. Wootten, of Howard; Major John I. Yellott, of Baltimore County; Louis McLane and George Harlan Williams, of Baltimore City; Thomas S. Iglehart, of Anne Arundel; Thomas Parran, Sr., of Calvert; Col. R. C. Coombs, of St. Mary's; P. A. Bowen, of Prince George's; George W. Cruikshank, of Cecil; General E. L. F. Hardcastle, of Talbot; Thomas H. Fitzgerald, of Somerset; J. W. Bryant, of Caroline; John Moore, of Harford, and Thomas Humphreys, of Wicomico; secretaries, Alexander Armstrong, of Washington; O. C. Warehune, of Frederick; Alfred Ray, of Montgomery; W. W. Fisher, of Howard; Edward S. Pierce, of Baltimore County; L. L. Chaney, of Calvert; Fendall Marbury, of Prince George's; W. R. Martin, of Talbot; Alfred Sudler, of Somerset; W. Smithson Forward, of Harford, and Dr. R. C. Mackall, of Cecil.

State Senator Lane and H. H. Keedy, of Washington; John S. Wirt, of Cecil; Philip D. Laird, of Montgomery; Dr. I. D. Adkins, George R. Goldsborough and Paul Winchester, of Talbot; W. W. Busted, of Queen Anne's; Dr. Goldsborough, of Caroline; Stanley Toadvin, of Wicomico, and Benjamin Silver, of Harford, were some of the other prominent county people present. Among the city men were Gen. Bradley T. Johnson, Col. Charles Marshall, Major Richard M. Venable, Col. Stewart Brown, Joseph Packard, Jr., Thomas B. Mackall, J. Southgate Lemon, W. Irvine Cross, William L. Marbury, William Cabell Bruce and John H. Lowe.

Interesting and forcible speeches were made by Hon. James U. Dennis, Mr. John K. Cowen and Hon. William T. Hamilton. The following address was read and adopted:

To the Democratic Voters of Maryland:—The next political battle in Maryland will be fought on State issues. Questions of federal policy will not be presented for the consideration of the voter, and the occasion is therefore opportune for a careful and dispassionate review of our public affairs and the condition of our party in Maryland. The people of this State will be called upon at the next election to determine whether or not they will call a constitutional convention to change our organic law. A constitution framed by bosses and adopted by fraudulent majorities may change every officer in the State from the highest to the lowest. It is conceded that the bosses have been supreme in the executive and legislative departments of our government, but as yet our judiciary has been free from the taint of their corrupting influence. We have now honest judges,

who discharge the duties of their high office with dignity and impartiality. When their places shall be filled by respectable but pliant servants of the ring, our last hope of fair elections will be swept away. Flushed with many victories, the ring now hopes to capture the judiciary. Are you ready for the sacrifice? Be assured that the danger threatens you. Maryland is peculiarly situated. It is comparatively a small State. Baltimore, unlike New York City in the Empire State, or Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, or Cincinnati in Ohio, constitutes in Maryland a large part of the State. During the convulsions of the late war its representation in the Legislature was made three times as large as it had been before. Its delegates generally vote as a unit in caucuses, in the organization of the respective Houses, and upon all important legislation, and by reason thereof exercise an undue influence in the government of the State and in the enactment of its laws. It has been the experience in all large cities that unless some extraordinary safeguards are thrown around the elective franchise the elections in them are the grossest frauds, mere instruments in the hands of corrupt men, who, by employing the criminal classes as their agents, thwart the public will, enrich themselves and plunder the people. This has been illustrated in New York during the Tweed régime, and also in various ways in Philadelphia, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Baltimore has been no exception to the general rule. Before the war the criminal classes in that city ruled the State for several years, through organized clubs, called "Blood Tubs," "Plug Uglies," "Red Necks," "Rip Raps," "Regulators," etc. Their violence consisted chiefly in driving away from the polls the voters, with clubs and awls, and so emboldened did they become that they held a large meeting in Monument Square, their chief emblem being a large awl draped with the American flag, and by their acts defiantly proclaimed to the people of the State, as Tweed afterwards did to the people of New York, "What are you going to do about it?" Nor were there wanting at that time men, otherwise respectable, who, reaping the benefits of such outrages, by their presence and gift of speech gave countenance and encouragement to these perpetrators of crime and destroyers of social order and political liberty. Of late other methods have been employed, and the criminals, instead of being on the outside, have been placed inside, as the custodians of the ballots and the manipulators of the returns. The result is what the bosses require, regardless of how the people have voted; and to such a condition have things come that many highly respectable citizens at the last municipal election refused to be candidates for office, for the reason that the character of the judges of election was such that to go through the forms of election would be a mere farce.

Men of notoriously bad character, criminals, keepers of night houses, and inebriates have been appointed judges. Repeating, voting pudding tickets, false counting and very frequently no counting at all, but returning large majorities without even ascertaining the votes, the destruction of the ballots actually voted, and the substitution of ballots not voted, have all been practised to their full extent. The registrars of voters act as partisans and improperly or corruptly leave thousands of disqualified names upon the lists. The supervisors of election, representing the bosses solely, who appoint the judges and clerks, are, according to the report of the Grand Jury, either incompetent or corrupt. The judges of election, with some exceptions, of course, are either criminals or incompetent. In addition to all this, it appears from the confession of one of the highest-place officers of the city that at the late election he supplied these judges of election with whiskey, in violation of the law of the State, so that they in their besotted condition might not fully understand the enormity of the crime which they were committing.

Men returned as elected by such methods acknowledge the power which gives them offices, and hence we find that the members of the Legislature from Baltimore have been known as the "men" of this boss or the "men" of that boss. These bosses, with some allies, constitute the lobby which seems to have complete control of the Legislature of the State. They have much to do with the organization of the respective Houses and the formation of the committees. They levy large sums of money from people and corporations interested in legislation. So large a sum as \$30,000 has been demanded and received for the passage of a certain law. At another time, when a certain measure had passed the Senate and was about to pass the House of Delegates, they demanded and received in twenty-four hours \$5000 to defeat it. It has become a notorious fact that at every session of the Legislature large sums of money have been divided amongst these corrupt people—blackmail which they have levied upon legislation. We submit that with fair elections in Baltimore, and its large delegation in the Legislature fairly representing the intelligence and patriotism of the people of that city, such a state of affairs could not long exist. The burdens of taxation have not been lightened. The money collected from the taxpayers to pay the debts of the State, instead of being applied to that purpose, as required by the constitution and laws, has been to a large extent misappropriated and spent in lavish expenditures and in corruption, and instead of the debt being paid and taxes reduced, the debts have been refunded and the taxes continued, so that the farmer, receiving less than eighty cents per bushel for his wheat, is required to pay as much as and even more State taxes than when he was receiving more than double that amount for his produce.

The rule of bossism in Maryland has been reduced to a system, and has become humiliating, corrupting and demoralizing. A few men assume to themselves the title of leaders. They demand alle-

giance to themselves. They make and unmake candidates at their pleasure. Subserviency is rewarded with office, and crime with appointment. Under such a system the youth and talent of the State cannot aspire to an honorable position in the public service without first becoming subservient to some boss. There are many other evils and abuses which need correction and reformation. It is impossible to go into minute details in a short address, but upon the stump, and before nominations for offices are made, the people of the State will have ample opportunity to hear them discussed.

In conclusion, we deem it proper to say that this is no movement against the Democratic party, but an effort to restore it to its original purity and simplicity, to lop off and cut out the cancerous excrescences which are poisoning its life's-blood. Nor is it intended to even reorganize the party outside of Baltimore City. We propose to contend within the Democratic party for pure methods; for the nomination of proper, honest and competent candidates; for the enactment of effective laws to secure fair elections, and to punish lobbying and dealing in legislation as a crime; for lower taxation, and for the correction of all abuses which stand in the way of honest, simple and pure government. It is our purpose to inform the people, to appeal to their intelligence, their virtue and their patriotism, and our appeal will not be in vain.

NOTES.

—THIRD—

MICHAEL A. MALONEY was a return judge at the Ninth Precinct of the ~~Ninth~~ Ward at the last election. Investigations disclose the fact that the ballot-box at that precinct contained twenty-four more ballots than the books showed had been legally cast. The criminal records show that he has twice been indicted for selling liquor on Sunday. The first case was settled on the payment of costs. When he was arrested under the first indictment, J. Q. A. Robson (now Police Commissioner) bailed him out. He was tried under the second indictment, convicted and punished. One would suppose that under no system of appointment could such a man "deserve a seat at the government table." The idea of such a character filling an office of trust and responsibility is, or ought to be, repugnant to men of even moderate notions of public decency. But the same system that could employ a law-breaking saloon-keeper to count votes can trust him elsewhere. Michael A. Maloney was, about two weeks ago, appointed a Sanitary Inspector in the Health Department.

SURVEYOR WARFIELD's boast that he is the first Maryland's official to make his office "solidly Democratic" is not wholly justified. The Post-Office, Custom House and Naval Office have practically been "clean swept": the handful of Republican incumbents only proving the rule as rare exceptions. We doubtless are well within the figures when we state that nineteen-twentieths of the *personnel* of our local Federal departments have been changed. Without attempting any general defense of the character of incumbents under the Republican control, and certainly with no desire to overlook any bad and disgraceful conduct of which any of them were

guilty, it is needless to repeat that these wholesale changes have been made upon the grossest principles of the spoils system. Men can hardly be found bold enough to argue that bad behavior on the part of the Republican officials has induced their removal, partly because the men supposed to be most guilty (like the traitor Caulk) have held on last of all, but chiefly because the persons removed have in a large number of instances been supplanted by men of notoriously bad character and habits. Nor can the "purpose of equalizing the distribution of offices" have prevailed, because the removing process has refused to halt short of a clean sweep.

A CORRESPONDENT claiming to be "one of the business men of Baltimore" writes us: "How do you expect the city's trade to be extended if its leading public men are published to the world as dishonest and vicious? And which do you think is worse, to appoint to office a certain number (not so many, after all) of men like Busey and 'Butch' Murphy, with somewhat regrettable antecedents, or to make disclosures which may injure the city's trade?" The same writer warns us against incurring the wrath of "business men" by criticising any of their doings, compares his estimate of our circulation with that of the Baltimore *Sun* in a most mortifying way, declares that it is the duty of the Baltimore press to leave these "disclosures" to "the papers of other cities," recites his narrow escape from membership of "your society," and then omits—in a very unbusiness-like manner—to sign his true name.

THE need of an independent, fearless and influential daily newspaper in this city, or even of a daily paper based upon honest partisanship, which the people can trust and believe, and whose motives it will be impossible to impugn, is growing more and more apparent. The present necessity of seeking the advertising columns of the only paper which is widely read by members of the Democratic party is one which is resorted to not only at great expense, but at a great disadvantage. Sir Francis Doyle, in his delightful "Reminiscences and Opinions," quotes Henry Taylor's famous apothegm that "a controversy *in* the press, *with* the press, is the controversy of a fly with a spider," because, of course, one has deliberately to "walk into its parlor" to begin the fight. If, added to the usual difficulties of this situation, one has to pay a heavy rental for the privilege of occupying the spider's premises and putting oneself at such a disadvantage, it is easy to see that the troubles are multiplied.

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AND THE
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BY GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN,

Mayor of the City in 1861, and now Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench
of Baltimore City.

The Editor of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* announces the above work for early publication (March, 1887) as an EXTRA VOLUME of the Series. The position of Judge Brown as Mayor of Baltimore in 1861 gave him exceptional opportunities for observing and understanding the municipal situation. His unflinching devotion to official duty in marching through Pratt street at the head of the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment on the 19th of April, in the midst of a furious mob, will inspire confidence in his account of the events of that day. The concurrent testimony of Baltimoreans, of different political opinions, confirms Judge Brown's historical statement as the most accurate that has thus far been written. The events leading to the 19th of April and immediately following that date are frankly discussed. Judge Brown's point of view is that of many leading citizens of Maryland. He has attempted to describe the position of the middle, or peace party. Judge Brown's Study is a contribution to a better understanding of the state of society and of public feeling in the borderland between the North and the South in 1861. After the lapse of a quarter of a century, American citizens have learned to hear with interest and appreciation both sides in the story of battles and campaigns. A Maryland view of past Politics may serve to enlighten the Present and instruct the Future.

The following table of contents will give some idea of the nature and scope of the work:

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.—The First Blood Shed in the War.—The Supposed Plot to Assassinate the Incoming President.—The Midnight Ride to Washington.

CHAPTER II. The Compromises of the Constitution in Regard to Slavery.—A Divided House.—The Broken Compact.—The Night of Revolution.

CHAPTER III. Maryland's Desire for Peace.—Events which Followed the Election of President Lincoln.—His Proclamation Calling for Troops.—The City Authorities and Police of Baltimore.—Increasing Excitement in Baltimore.

CHAPTER IV. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment in Baltimore.—The Fight.—The Departure for Washington.—Correspondence in Regard to the Killed and Wounded.—Public Meeting.—Telegram to the President.—No Reply.—Burning of Bridges.

CHAPTER V. April 20th, Increasing Excitement.—Appropriation of \$500,000 for Defense of the City.—Correspondence with President and Governor.—Men Enrolled.—Apprehended Attack on Fort McHenry.—Marshal Kane.—Interview with President, Cabinet and General Scott.—General Butler, with the Eighth Massachusetts, Proceeds to Annapolis and Washington.—Baltimore in a State of Armed Neutrality.

CHAPTER VI. Session of General Assembly.—Report of the Board of Police.—Suppression of the Flags.—On the 5th of May General Butler Takes Position Six Miles from Baltimore.—On the 13th of May He Enters Baltimore and Fortifies Federal Hill.—The General Assembly will Take no Steps Towards Secession.—Many Young Men Join the Army of the Confederacy.

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APPENDIX IV. Message of the 12th of July, 1861, to the First and Second Branches of the City Council, Referring to the Events of the 19th of April and Those which Followed. The first paragraph and the concluding paragraphs of this document.

APPENDIX V. As a Part of the History of the Times, Reproduction from the *Baltimore American* of December 5, 1860, of the Reception of the Putnam Phalanx of Hartford, Connecticut, in the City of Baltimore.

APPENDIX VI. Visit of a Portion of the Members of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment again to Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1880, and an Account of its Reception, from the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Baltimore American*.

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Are there any institutions more carefully and conservatively managed than the New England Savings Banks? The fact that these conservative institutions invest in these Mortgages and have had such a gratifying experience for the last 30 years, there never having been any loss of either principal or interest, should have great weight with the investing public. Give this important matter some attention, and do not contribute further to this immense loss of several millions per annum.

HOW THE LOSS MAY BE AVOIDED.

In order that these millions may be saved to the people, I am prepared to furnish Western Farm Mortgages, carefully negotiated by the Equitable Mortgage Company, on improved farms in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and Missouri, the finest portion of the West, valued at from three to five times the amount of the Mortgage. The Equitable Mortgage Company is a corporation with a capital of \$600,000, and is located at Kansas City, Mo., its principal Eastern offices being at Philadelphia, New York and Boston. It numbers among its stockholders and investors many of the most prominent and conservative capitalists of Philadelphia, New York and New England. It guarantees the payment of the principal and interest, makes its securities as safe, convenient and free from care as Government Bonds, and delivers to the purchaser all the papers in each loan properly assigned. As an evidence of its reliability, the perfection of its system, and its wise and cautious management, I would state that in nine years' business, during which time several millions of Mortgages have been placed, no investor has ever lost a cent of principal or interest, or been compelled to wait a day for anything due him. Its splendid record in the past is the best assurance of what its future will be. I am prepared to furnish these Mortgages at all times, in all amounts from \$200 to \$10,000 (also the Debenture Bonds of the Equitable Mortgage Company, for information about which write for pamphlet), the Company keeping a large supply on hand, complete and ready to be immediately assigned to purchasers.

I address you thus confidently through this advertisement, knowing that a careful and impartial investigation of these Mortgages and Bonds will commend them to your judgment as the best and safest investment that can now be obtained. I shall be glad at all times to give full particulars or information, or send circular to parties desiring same. Yours truly,

HENRY W. ROGERS, AGENT,

Lexington and Charles Streets, Baltimore.

THE Civil-Service Reformer.

9381.23

VOL. III.—No. 3.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

SIX PER CENT. LOANS ON MORTGAGE, GUARANTEED PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST, BY THE Lombard Investment Company.

CAPITAL AND SURPLUS, \$1,250,000.

EIGHTH SEMI-ANNUAL STATEMENT AT THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS, JAN. 31, 1887.

RESOURCES.		LIABILITIES.	
Mortgages and Bills Receivable	\$1,664,201 80	Capital Fully Paid	\$1,000,000 00
Overdrafts	885 30	Reserve	150,000 00
Expenses and Taxes paid	99,028 75	Surplus	100,000 00
English Consols and P. R. R. Sinking Funds Stg. Gold Bonds (at par) ..	8,700 00	Undivided Profits	136,345 28
Union Pacific First Mortgage 6s (at par)	12,000 00	Dividends Payable February 1, 1887	42,500 00
Boston, Concord & Montreal 7s (at par)	5,000 00	Debentures	284,000 00
U. S. 4 per cent. Bonds (at par)	25,000 00	Interest Paid by borrowers awaiting presentation of coupons	39,233 87
U. S. 4 per cent. Bonds (at par)	20,000 00	Loaning Funds awaiting investment in Lombard Investment Co. Securities; Account of English and American Clients	369,734 63
Other Stocks and Bonds	640 20		
Cash with Company's Bankers: Martin & Co., London, England; Mav- erick National Bank, Boston; Broadway National Bank, New York; Chase National Bank, New York; First National Bank of Kansas City, Mo.	286,357 73		
TOTAL	\$2,121,813 78	TOTAL	\$2,121,813 78

B. LOMBARD, JR., President.

WM. A. LOMBARD, Secretary.

H. W. L. RUSSELL, Auditor.

The Statement of the LOMBARD INVESTMENT COMPANY published herewith shows that its Capital and Surplus are together over \$1,250,000, and its guaranty amounts to \$2,250,000, as each stockholder is liable for double the amount of stock held by him. An investor in buying the loans negotiated by this Company gets absolute possession of a mortgage which is a first lien on the property loaned upon. No mortgage is made by the Company in excess of 40 per cent., and many are not over 25 per cent., of the value of the property hypothecated. In addition to the security which the investor holds he has the guaranty of the Company endorsed upon his bond, that it will pay the principal and interest of his loan. The managers of the Lombard Investment Company have been in this same business since 1856; have loaned over 40 millions of dollars for Eastern investors, and no investor in their loans has ever lost a dollar of principal or interest. Having personally inspected the way in which the business of this Company is conducted, I am thoroughly satisfied of the safety of the loans negotiated by the Company, and offer them as first-class investments which will pay 6 per cent. net. Having a number on hand, I will be glad to show and explain them to any one desiring further information.

WM. WINCHESTER, Note and Investment Broker, 306 Second St., Baltimore.

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THE WESTERN FARM MORTGAGE COMPANY,

LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

Capital Stock, fully paid, \$250,000.00. Assets, January 1, 1887, \$792,525.00.

Coupon Bonds Payable on Day of Maturity at Third National Bank, New York.

THE WESTERN FARM MORTGAGE COMPANY offers to investors three options:

FIRST.—The ordinary *seven* per cent. first mortgage real estate loans, which are *guaranteed* as to interest, taxes, title, &c.**SECOND.**—The *absolutely guaranteed* six per cent. loans known as "Series D."**THIRD.**—The *ten year debentures* secured (1) by the deposit of one hundred and five thousand dollars of real estate mortgages in the hands of trustees (the American Loan and Trust Company of New York) for each one hundred thousand dollars of debentures, and (2) by all the property of the Company, amounting to seven hundred and ninety thousand dollars.

These debentures are a plain promise to pay, officially signed and sealed by the Company, and draw six per cent. interest, payable half-yearly at the Third National Bank in New York. Both principal and interest are payable in gold.

The American Loan and Trust Company of New York, which has been selected as trustee, as above stated, is one of the strongest corporations in the State. The paid-up capital is one million of dollars. The Board of Directors is composed of gentlemen of large wealth and high financial ability, among whom are Wm. B. Dinsmore, President of Adams Express Company; Geo. H. Potts, President of National Park Bank; Elias Lewis, Jr., President of Brooklyn Bank, and others.

These mortgage investments are recommended to capitalists because: (1) They are made without delay. (2) The interest and principal are paid on maturity. (3) They can be negotiated and transferred if the holder so desires.

The Western Farm Mortgage Company has been in operation over eleven years, has done in that period a business of over six millions of dollars, and has given absolute satisfaction to nearly two thousand investors, not one of whom has lost or paid a dollar for taxes, insurance or foreclosure, nor taken an acre of land. An examination will show that the methods of this Company are most conservative and careful in every particular. The mortgages can be furnished in amounts of from \$200 to \$10,000.

Full particulars and information given. Circulars sent to persons desiring same.

THOMAS OWINGS, Attorney and Agent,

230 N. CHARLES ST. (S. W. Cor. Charles and Saratoga Sts.),

BALTIMORE, MD.

BALTIMORE and the NINETEENTH OF APRIL, 1861

A STUDY OF THE WAR.

By GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Mayor of the City in 1861, and now Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City.

The Editor of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* announces the above work for early publication (March, 1887) as an EXTRA VOLUME of the Series.

The following table of contents will give some idea of the nature and scope of the work:

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.—The First Blood Shed in the War.—The Supposed Plot to Assassinate the Incoming President.—The Midnight Ride to Washington.

CHAPTER II. The Compromises of the Constitution in Regard to Slavery.—A Divided House.—The Broken Compact.—The Right of Revolution.

CHAPTER III. Maryland's Desire for Peace.—Events which Followed the Election of President Lincoln.—His Proclamation Calling for Troops.—The City Authorities and Police of Baltimore.—Increasing Excitement in Baltimore.

CHAPTER IV. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment in Baltimore.—The Fight.—The Departure for Washington.—Correspondence in Regard to the Killed and Wounded.—Public Meeting.—Telegram to the President.—No Reply.—Burning of Bridges.

CHAPTER V. April 20th, Increasing Excitement.—Appropriation of \$500,000 for Defense of the City.—Correspondence with President and Governor.—Men Enrolled.—Apprehended Attack on Fort McHenry.—Marshal Kane.—Interview with President, Cabinet and General Scott.—General Butler, with the Eighth Massachusetts, Proceeds to Annapolis and Washington.—Baltimore in a State of Armed Neutrality.

CHAPTER VI. Session of General Assembly.—Report of the Board of Police.—Suppression of the Flags.—On the 5th of May General Butler Takes Position Six Miles from Baltimore.—On the 13th of May He Enters Baltimore and Fortifies Federal Hill.—The General Assembly will Take no Steps Towards Secession.—Many Young Men Join the Army of the Confederacy.

CHAPTER VII. Chief Justice Taney and the Writ of Habeas Corpus.—A Union Convention.—Consequence of the Suspension of the Writ.—Incidents of the War.—The Women in the War.

CHAPTER VIII. General Banks in Command.—Marshal Kane Arrested.—Police Commissioners Superseded.—Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly.—Police Commissioners Arrested.—Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly.—General Dix in Command.—Arrest of the Members of the General Assembly, the Mayor and Others.—Release of Prisoners.—Colonel Dimick.

CHAPTER IX.—A Personal Chapter.

APPENDIX I. Account of the Alleged Conspiracy to Assassinate Abraham Lincoln on his Journey to Baltimore, from the Life of Abraham Lincoln by Ward H. Lamon, pp. 511–526.

APPENDIX II. Extract from the Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered by Chief Justice Taney in the case of *Dred Scott vs. Sandford*, 19 How. 407.APPENDIX III. The Habeas Corpus Case. Opinion of the Chief Justice of the United States, *ex parte* John Merryman, before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States at Chambers.

APPENDIX IV. Message of the 12th of July, 1861, to the First and Second Branches of the City Council, Referring to the Events of the 19th of April and Those which Followed. The first paragraph and the concluding paragraphs of this document.

APPENDIX V. As a Part of the History of the Times, Reproduction from the *Baltimore American* of December 5, 1860, of the Reception of the Putnam Phalanx of Hartford, Connecticut, in the City of Baltimore.APPENDIX VI. Visit of a Portion of the Members of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment again to Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1880, and an Account of its Reception, from the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Baltimore American*.

PRICE.

The volume will comprise about 150 pages, octavo, and will be sold, bound in cloth, at \$1; and at reduced rates to regular subscribers to the "Studies."

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APR 7 1897

The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. III. — No. 3.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

AS we go to press, the selection of Assistant Secretary Fairchild, to succeed Secretary Manning at the head of the Treasury Department is rumored. Mr. Fairchild has long been identified with the new movement for reformed methods in public administration. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the New York Civil-Service Reform Association, and has long been a pronounced advocate of the cause represented by that body. He would also without doubt rival his predecessor in his conservative and intelligent administration of the public finances, in which Secretary Manning has had but few equals. It is unlikely that under his control of the department any further disgraceful appointments would be made, even if it is too much to hope that some of the men who now hold commissions in this branch of the service would be retired to private life. We trust the report will be confirmed.

GOVERNOR HILL's address at the banquet of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Brooklyn has received more attention than it deserved, from the fact that his friends profess to believe that he is a formidable antagonist of President Cleveland for the next Presidential nomination of the Democratic party, and because he seems to have posed in a measure in that capacity upon this particular occasion. If this were a true diagnosis of the case, it would give additional significance to the gingerly manner in which he handled the subject of Civil-Service Reform. He said:

Let us recall the closing words of that famous St. Louis platform of 1876, substantially dictated by Mr. Tilden himself: "We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men." That same admirable platform tersely declared that "all in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite: they are a public trust." The people's servants should represent the sentiments of the people; the faithful fulfilment of their official trust demands their adherence and devotion to the principles approved in their election or involved in their appointment. This is not only common sense, but it is honorable politics; but politics in its best sense "is the science of government."

It is important to notice where the quotation-marks end and Mr. Hill's opinions begin. If Mr. Tilden were the author of the meaningless and empty phrase which Mr. Hill has quoted, he was none the less the author of that explicit and patriotic utterance in the same platform to which Mr. Hill forgot to call the attention of his audience: "Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the Government business is not possible if its Civil Service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ."

WHILE Mr. Hill and his coadjutors are busying themselves with these covert attempts to misrepresent the purposes and spirit of the improved system, it is quietly and irresistibly forcing its way into the confidence and good opinion of the general public. In actual practice the system does work

well and does accomplish what is claimed for it. The theoretical objections of its enemies are proved by experience to be groundless. Here is an extract from the last utterance of the Committee on Civil-Service Reform of the House of Representatives:

It [Civil-Service Reform] is not intended to interfere with or destroy parties, which are believed to be essential to the faithful and honest administration of governments. One party is necessary to look after and criticise the shortcomings of the other; but parties should be based on principles, and not on the cohesive power of public plunder. A public servant should be held to a faithful discharge of his public duty, and not held as a henchman to do dirty work. For a candidate to pay money for his election is confessedly bribery, and to purchase his preferment by the promise of office is in every sense political bribery. No reformer will dispense with political parties nor with their efficient organization for all legitimate purposes. It is a false assumption to claim that they have no higher aim or object than the mere fruits of office. The British Civil Service has been freed from partisan control, and yet no more bitter, active or unrelenting political contest has been witnessed in that kingdom than seen in their last election. . . . That the public service has been purified and elevated by the efforts of the Civil-Service Commissioners, aided and sustained by the President, cannot be successfully denied. That the clerical service is thereby rendered more and more efficient is seriously believed to be true.

Governor Hill may take this for our answer to his insinuations. It is the deliberate expression of men whose Democracy is as sound and orthodox as his own.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND's veto of the Dependent Pension Bill, justly termed an act to squander the public funds for the promotion of pauperism, seems to dispose for the present of that vicious and inexcusable piece of spoils legislation. Its passage by large majorities in both Houses of Congress, and the alarming approach in the House of Representatives to the necessary vote to overcome the President's objection, make a discreditable chapter in our political history. The bill was fathered by claim agents, galvanized into power by the incessant labors of the lobby, and engineered throughout by demagogues. Nothing honest or wise was ever the fruit of such influences. The preposterous provisions of the act awakened immediate and pronounced popular disapproval. The press was almost a unit against it, without regard to party affiliations. It commended itself neither to the patriotism nor the intelligence nor even to the sympathies of the general public. Its result was to be the annual devastation of the people's savings to the enormous amount of over seventy millions of dollars. Even that political bugbear, the "soldier vote," so far as it still has any real existence, indignantly repudiated the measure, thereby rendering nugatory the single pretense upon which its propriety could be based. In the light of all these facts, the strong arm of the executive alone prevented its becoming a law, and nearly two hundred members of the popular House voted to pass it over the veto. An examination of the list of those who supported the bill shows conclusively that influences even more deadly and contemptible than partisan spite or the attempt to gain partisan advantage were behind it. Certainly the wishes of the people were openly ignored. While our national legislators owe their elections to the spoils system, this will always be the case. Representative McComas was the only member

of the Maryland delegation who supported the bill—a distinction of which he ought to be heartily ashamed. Happily for the people, President Cleveland's attitude in the matter from the outset was manly, patriotic and dignified in the highest degree.

As a matter of course, a fearless and independent political journal must expect to encounter charges of partisanship as a defense (often a desperate one) to its attacks upon practices for which one or the other of the political parties may hold itself or be held by the community responsible, and this in spite of all possible precautions which may be taken to deal with the subject in hand in a spirit of absolute justice and impartiality. It ill consists with their purpose for the managers of such a journal to take offense because of gross perversions of the spirit or motives of their utterances at the hands of either bigoted or malicious individuals or newspapers; and we claim for THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER that it has always met and will continue to meet all such unfair treatment in good temper, and with renewed efforts to disabuse the minds of fair people of any prejudices which have been thus engendered. Sometimes, however, the matter assumes a most ludicrous aspect. For example, we have recently received a letter from a prominent member of the Democratic party in Philadelphia declining to renew his subscription because he thinks the paper "injures the cause [Civil-Service Reform] by its unfairness to Mr. Cleveland, who has done infinitely more for reform in this direction than any of his Republican predecessors, under infinitely greater difficulties." The same week we received a communication from a New York subscriber, who, after stating that he was a Republican, writes: "While Civil-Service-Reform managers continue to give their votes and support to the Democratic party, I contribute no more money." These letters are, of course, complete answers to each other. They also furnish some evidence that partisan considerations have not been allowed to direct or divert any blow which it may have been in the line of our public duty to strike.

THE letter of our Democratic brother also shows what dangers do lurk behind partisanship, and how thoroughly the spirit of fairness and candor may be eclipsed by its intervention. The writer bases his criticism of our course upon his belief that the President "*has done infinitely more for reform in this direction than any of his Republican predecessors, under infinitely greater difficulties.*" Presuming that he would not undertake to administer a rebuke to us without some acquaintance with our columns, it seems that he has allowed his prejudices to entirely hide from him the fact that this sentiment has been given expression to by us almost monthly since our first publication. As lately as our February number we declared our belief that President Cleveland had "undoubtedly" done more for the general advancement of Civil-Service Reform "*than all his predecessors put together.*" This is not an Administration paper. There are plenty of organs whose mission it is to make light of the President's misdeeds and to exaggerate the good he does. Nor, on the other hand, have we the slightest reason for making factious opposition to the President, or overlooking what is wise and patriotic in his public career. If it so happens that we concern ourselves more with public evils than we do with public virtues, it is simply because the former stand in the way of our efforts to promote reform and the latter do not. What is right speaks for itself, and

is its own best applause. It is our duty, our purpose and our earnest endeavor to speak the whole truth about public officials when we undertake the disagreeable duty of criticising them. But if our critic means to urge that we must overlook direct and flagrant violations of public duty on the part of the President, and suppress the facts that relate to them because we admit his great services, and believe, as does our critic, that he has far outstripped his "Republican predecessors" in good works, we must simply reply, *Non sequitur*. If the writer will find for us in our columns a single statement reflecting upon the character or integrity of the President which has not been accompanied with overwhelming facts to substantiate it, he will have laid his foundation for a criticism, but not before.

LAST month witnessed the annual farce of the so-called "Mayor's appointments" in the municipal service—which, as everybody knows, are not the Mayor's appointments at all, but the dictations of the big and little bosses in and out of the City Council. The "green bag" contained its usual quota of criminals and ruffians. George Konig was of course reappointed. "Jim" Busey holds his office of Superintendent of Streets for the Fourth District by a tenure more secure than that of the Mayor himself, and was reappointed. "Fritz" Buchheimer got his appointment of Clerk of the Fells Point Market again. What shall we say of a system which calls such men year after year to the responsibilities and emoluments of public office? What arrant hypocrisy it is for the organ of the Ring to pretend that it opposes the appointment of criminals to office, when three such men are appointed and reappointed without a word of challenge or protest appearing in its columns! The passage by the Councils of the uniform Biennial-Term Ordinance, however gross and insidious may have been the motives which superinduced it, will at least make it possible for plain people to unravel the now complicated tenure system, and guide public opinion to the proper source of responsibility for every appointment.

CAN there be anything more shameful and unworthy than the attempts of the *Sun* to bring obloquy upon Mr. Cowen and excite public indignation against him by falsifying, so grossly, the meaning of his imputation that the suffrage in the city of Baltimore is substantially under the rule of the criminal classes? It endeavors to place Mr. Cowen in the position of asserting that the judges, whom he contributed so much to elect, and the principal municipal and State officers are criminals, and loudly challenging the truth of such a charge, as if Mr. Cowen had made it. The conductors of the *Sun* are as well aware as every other citizen of Baltimore that the Democratic primaries of this city are a byword of fraud and shame. They know that the men who control the polls and count the votes in a large number of precincts of the city—large enough always to determine the result of the election—are men of bad character, in large part of criminal antecedents, and so totally and conspicuously unworthy of their places as to leave no question that they were selected because of their very unworthiness. They know how few elections, within the last ten or twelve years, are even claimed to have been fair by the parties who manipulated them. They know that the result of every election is preordained, and that the men who bring about such results are rewarded for their crimes by public money, in the shape of offices large or small. These are facts which everybody knows and no one denies—except in print. Pending the very discussion in which we

are engaged, Mr. Hodges has renominated such conspicuous outlaws as Buchheimer, Busey and Konig to offices which they have enjoyed as their hire, ever since he went into power. For the *Sun*, therefore, to say that the elections are not controlled by the criminal classes, because a respect for appearances compels the selection for conspicuous places of men of fair character and respectable antecedents, is simply to palter with the truth. For it to say that the men just named, and others like them, in the wards where Mr. Hodges received his majorities, do not belong to the criminal classes and did not as such elect him, and are not, as such, rewarded by him, merely because he happens (whatever else he may be) to be a gentleman of personal integrity and clean hands, is to trifle with the public intelligence. To say that Thornton, by his appointment of clerks and judges, upon principles confessedly fraudulent and illegal, did not mainly control the election to the mayoralty and contribute to defeat Judge Brown, is to say what every intelligent politician in Baltimore knows to be false and what the most of them would not hesitate publicly to laugh at. It is well known, by everybody, that he and Harman were made supervisors to do the work they did, precisely as the present supervisors were appointed to do the work which they have done. There is not a member of the Ring who would not admit that he deserved to be called a fool, if he procured the appointment of such supervisors for any other purpose. It is as well known as any other fact in the political history of the country that it was the policy of the Tweed régime, in New York, perpetually to keep up an appearance of respectability by the nomination of candidates, here and there, who were entirely above reproach. Governor Hoffman, whom they elected, was a gentleman of the highest social and personal respectability and integrity. He was a man of ability besides; and yet, under his administration, some of the very worst frauds of the Ring were perpetrated. The system of "figure-heads" is as well understood as any other of the devices of political profligacy, and when the *Sun* undertook its virtuous censure of Mr. Cowen, upon the theory that he intended to characterize all our public officials as belonging to the criminal classes, while a large number of them were personally above reproach, it sinned grossly against knowledge as well as against decency.

CORPORATIONS AND SHAM REFORM.

THE remarkable letter of Mr. John K. Cowen to the Baltimore *Sun*, which we gave in full in the last number of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, has been met by the Ring and its coadjutors in the manner which might naturally have been expected. We say this, however, with some qualification, because, although it might naturally have been expected from the men who for so many years have been governing the State and city by fraud, it was hardly to have been anticipated that a journal professing the respectability and having the large circulation and influence of the Baltimore *Sun*, would join with the class to which we have referred in falsifying the momentous issue which Mr. Cowen has raised. The letter of Mr. Cowen, it will be remembered, was a justification, by proof, of his assertion, made at the State Reform Meeting, in Oratorio Hall, that the suffrage in the city of Baltimore is substantially under the rule of the criminal classes. It was dedicated, mainly, to a statement of facts and of the names of individuals, and these were presented in so copious and fearful an array, that it was impossible for

any fair and intelligent man to possess himself of them without a feeling of dismay. It was quite obvious that the justification of Mr. Cowen depended and must rest exclusively upon the truth of his facts, quite independently of his motives in stating them, and, this being the case, it was equally obvious that to sink his facts in any discussion of his motives was to evade and, as we have said, palpably to falsify the issue. If the politics of the city of Baltimore are really under the rule of its criminal classes, in the sense in which Mr. Cowen has alleged; if the long array of political agents and officials, whose names he gives, are the criminals or the base and unworthy persons whom he describes them as being, and do really exercise the influence in politics and receive the rewards for which he has given chapter and verse, it makes no possible difference, to those who are really interested in the purity of the suffrage, whether he discloses them and presents his indictment for an interested or a disinterested purpose. It may, of course, affect the judgment of the public, as to his own personal merits, to determine whether he has done good from a pure or from a selfish motive. But if he has in reality done good, his motive is one which men, who are honestly seeking the promotion of good, will not stop to analyze, until they have first attempted to cure the evils which he justly denounces. It is, of course, an old trick to evade issues which it is impossible to meet. But, in this case, the issues are too grave to be evaded. It enormously interests the public to know whether the indictment which has been presented to them is or is not a true bill. If it is a true bill, and can be established to be such, the cause of public justice and good government requires that it shall be first tried and disposed of, leaving the motives of those who present it to be taken up afterwards, if need be, in their order. It is quite impossible that a journal directed by even the intelligence which characterizes the *Sun*, can be under any mistake or ignorance upon this point. It is impossible that any attempt upon its part to divert the minds of the people, in any way or under any pretext, from the true issues before them, can be other than a deliberate and wilful attempt to prevent the truth from being reached.

Before, however, we consider the subject in its fuller details and in special reference to the course which the *Sun* has pursued, it occurs to us to ask a question, which seems to us to be controlling and to admit of but one answer. Suppose it to be true, as the *Sun* would have it believed, that Mr. Cowen, as a "corporation attorney," is or professes to be a Reformer, not from principle, but because of the innate profligacy of corporation attorneys, or from a desire to promote the interests and further certain nefarious designs of the railway corporation whose distinguished counsel he is—what lesson does that fact teach us? Suppose it to be true, as the *Sun* grossly insinuates, after its manner, that he is bent on a scheme to control the legislation of the State, or, if you please, the proceedings of the proposed Constitutional Convention, in the interest of the corporation named. Assume that all his allegations against the bosses and their adherents and subordinates are brought forward under that impulse—is that any reason why the people of Maryland should shut their eyes and close their minds to all inquiry into the character of the Ring influences which now control the government and politics of the State? Would that fact not teach, quite as fully as the other facts which Mr. Cowen has accumulated in his letter, the necessity of sending to the Constitutional Convention and to the Legislature of Maryland, a class of people who are

no more to be cajoled or bought by corporation attorneys, than they are to be lobbied or sold by ballot-stuffers and ballot-burners? Does it not afford a double reason for double vigilance, on the part of the people of the city and counties, in securing the freedom of the ballot by competent registration and election laws, so that the State shall be really represented and governed through its voters, and not by the profligates who now control the ballot-box by crime? Are these last any better, or more to be trusted, because railroads and their attorneys should be distrusted and watched? If, as the *Sun* alleges, the corporations, and especially the railroad corporations of Maryland, have secured improper privileges and exemptions, with other pernicious legislation for their benefit, how is it that they have been able to do this? Is it not because the identical bosses with whom the *Sun* is now consorting, who have for so many years controlled the elections in this city and have sent delegates and Senators to Annapolis at their pleasure, have sent there a class of people capable of being "influenced" by corporate seductions? Has it not been because they have persistently sent there a corrupt and venal class, whose votes they have sold, and with the proceeds of whose perjury and corruption they have accumulated, session after session, a fund for the purpose of further defiling the ballot-box and paralyzing the suffrages of the people? No stronger argument could be imagined for the reforms of which this journal is the persistent advocate, than the very suggestions of the *Sun* and its coadjutors upon this point. We insist that no better reason could be conceived why the people of Maryland should take their registration and election laws in hand and vindicate the sanctity and assert the power of the ballot. When we ask through whom it is that the alleged influence of corporations has been felt (if it has been felt) in the legislation of the State, is it possible for the *Sun* to forget the vigorous and outspoken denunciation by Mr. Bernard Carter, in its columns, of the lobby which he charged to be in possession of the Legislature of Maryland, at the time when the bill for the construction of an elevated track by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in this city was before that body? Can it forget that Mr. Carter, then and there, and with all the emphasis of its most startling type, declared the Hon. Arthur P. Gorman—then, as now, the centre of the Ring of statesmen to which the *Sun* has now for the first time openly attached itself—to be the "generalissimo" of that lobby? It matters not, for the purpose of this argument, whether the legislation then in question was wise or unwise, proper or improper, in furtherance of the policy of the great work in whose favor it was adopted. We simply desire, by the reminder, to recall to the dull memory of the *Sun* the fact that rings and lobbies, and "influence" of all sorts, corporate and individual, are inseparably knit together, and that the only security against the control of legislation by individuals or corporations is to be found in sending representatives to the Legislature who cannot be mastered by anything but their sense of duty, and whose votes are not in the hollow of the hand of Mr. Gorman or any other generalissimo who is able to suborn a lobby. If, therefore, we repeat, every word of imputation which the *Sun* and its co-laborers have uttered against Mr. Cowen and his motives were true, so much more powerful would be the appeal which the facts make and which the *Sun* ought to make to the people of the State, to send men to Annapolis, both to Legislature and Convention, who will represent the citizens who send them, and not the tricksters and hucksters and corruptionists who live by the profits of the lobby and the

legislative blackmailing of corporations and individuals alike. As we have said, the facts accumulated by Mr. Cowen, in the presentation of his case, are as formidable as they are shocking. To this hour there has been no specific denial whatever of them from any source. A mistake may perhaps have been made in the name of one criminal who has been mis-called for his equally criminal brother. An insignificant error or two of that sort—such as are inseparable from every copious statement of minute details—may have crept into it; but there has been and there can be no successful question of the substantial truth of the entire presentation which Mr. Cowen has made of the character of the influences which pervert, and the people who subvert the elective franchise, in this city, in both the voting and the count. The facts, being true, can have or suggest but a single remedy, and that is the remedy demanded by the Reform organization, which began its campaign in Oratorio Hall—viz.: the adoption of a complete and honest system of registration and election laws, and the election of an Executive fearless and honest enough to see to their faithful and complete execution. This is all that Mr. Cowen asks. It is to show the absolute necessity of this, and stimulate the people to demand and secure this, and this only, that he has undergone the labor and assumed the responsibility of marshalling his facts and becoming sponsor for them before the public. Is his demonstration any less conclusive, or the remedy any less imperative and indispensable, because he is a "corporation attorney"? If he were Devil's Advocate instead, would it make any difference in the evil or the remedy?

And now as to the *Sun* and its special relation to the corporation question. It can but have been a matter of surprise, to those who are familiar with the course of the *Sun* for many years past, to find it covertly assailing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, in its attacks upon Mr. Cowen. As far back as we remember, the *Sun* has been the constant and persistent supporter of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and its measures. We do not recollect a single instance in which it has ever wholly opposed any measure, of a legislative or other character, for the benefit of that corporation. With the exception of its opposition to the first plan of legislation, suggested by the company, in reference to the entrance of its elevated railroad into the city, we are not in fact aware of any instance in which it has placed itself even in partial antagonism to the road. It had, indeed, become proverbial that the columns of the *Sun* were but the echo of the wishes of the great corporation. If, therefore, the railroad or its attorneys have at any time secured privileges for it to which it was not entitled, or have trenched upon the liberties or the welfare of the people, this vigilant guardian of the popular interests has never called aloud to any one to come to the rescue. We do not undertake to say that the *Sun* may not have been very wise in its accord with the wishes and plans of the railroad company. We do not mean to say that it may not have been governed by a sincere conviction that, in supporting those plans, it was promoting the interests of the city and its own interests along with them. But we simply advert to its history, in this regard, for the purpose of showing that its present rabid zeal for the protection of the people from the railroad and its attorneys is entirely new-born and fictitious. That the change should have made its appearance at this particular juncture, and as a method of diverting the attention of the people from the corruptions and crimes involved in the present political management of the State, is quite as likely to attract public attention and comment

as the fact of the change itself. We say that it is a method of diverting public attention, because, if the *Sun* had been animated by an honest desire to protect the people of the State from the perpetration of frauds upon the elective franchise, and to protect them also from corporate aggression, it would naturally and necessarily have denounced the danger from corporation attorneys, in addition to and along with the dangers already existing from brutal and felonious abuse of the election machinery. It would have appealed to the people to recognize both as causes for the increase and exercise of their vigilance, instead of setting off one cause against the other, to the confusion of both, and endeavoring to paralyze the influence of those who desire decent government by imputing to them motives of corrupt corporate aggrandizement.

Let us state the case further. Among the members of the legal profession who have been engaged in the recent party conflicts in the city of Baltimore, there is no one more prominent or more conspicuous, from his ability and efficiency, than Mr. Bernard Carter. That gentleman, as is well known, is of counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the Northern Central Railway Company, the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company, the Baltimore and Potomac Railway Company, and the City Passenger Railway Company; he is also City Solicitor. The corporations which he represents are important and controlling, some of them very powerful. Mr. Carter is now the main and most able—indeed, the only really effective—public defender, in Baltimore, of the Ring dynasty which calls itself “the Stalwart Democracy.” For this reason we select his case as a conspicuous illustration of the *Sun*’s consistency, though it does not stand alone. Mr. Charles J. M. Gwinn, for example, with whom and whose anti-reform politics the *Sun* is in sympathy and from whose counsels it has so often been the wiser (or otherwise), is a corporation attorney, in the fullest sense of that dreadful appellation, being not only of counsel for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, like Mr. Cowen, but of the Western Union Telegraph Company, which last is not commonly regarded as the most scrupulous of corporations in its aims or methods. Yet the *Sun* has seen no danger, so far as the world knows, in the corporationism of Mr. Gwinn. But we prefer the case of Mr. Carter. Two of the railway companies which he represents have their taxation exemptions as well as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. There is no interest which Mr. Cowen can have, as a corporation attorney, in controlling the legislation of the State, which Mr. Carter can avoid sharing. In fact, he has a larger interest, because the exemption from taxation which is now enjoyed by one of his railway clients is repealable, under the decisions of the courts, while that of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company is not. Mr. Carter is, at this moment, as the *Sun* has seen in its own columns, one of the counsel of the Supervisors of Elections, in the *mandamus* case now pending against them for the production and examination of their lists of judges and clerks. These are the very people whose misconduct Mr. Cowen has denounced and the character of whose appointees he has made painfully conspicuous to the public. Now, we have not the remotest idea, and do not mean for a moment to commit the injustice of intimating or suggesting, that Mr. Carter, in his political action, in his political position, in the attitude which he occupies towards the Ring or the cause of reform, or his professional relation to the *mandamus* case, in any way represents or is influenced by the interests of the

great corporations who are fortunate in having him as their counsel. When he joined Mr. Cowen in supporting the independent judiciary movement, we have no idea that he acted as a corporation attorney any more than Mr. Cowen. When he became the champion of Mr. Latrobe, and afterwards of Mr. Hodges, we do not dream that he acted in his capacity of railroad counsel, or that his clients had anything whatever to do with his course. He chose, as an individual, and for his own reasons, to select his candidates, just as Mr. Cowen chose, as an individual, to support those who seemed best to him. Now, if the *Sun* is sincere in its antagonism to corporate influence and corporate attorneys, we should like to be informed why it has never felt its conscience moved to denounce the political action of Mr. Carter (any more than that of Mr. Gwinn), as prompted by the corporations which he represents, while it attributes that motive and impulse to Mr. Cowen. Why is it that, when Mr. Cowen assails the Supervisors of Election for gross dereliction of duty and prostitution of their functions, it is deemed necessary to warn the public against the schemes of corporation attorneys; and yet, when Mr. Carter defends the same parties, in their efforts to escape the publicity which that class of people naturally dread most, the *Sun* finds nothing of corporate design in his action, and deems it wholly unnecessary to raise the storm-signals? When Mr. Carter supported Mr. Latrobe, and advocated Mr. Hodges, we do not remember that the tocsin of the *Sun* was sounded to warn us against danger from railroad influences at the City Hall. Why not? Does such danger exist only on one side of the corporate chessboard? Do not the motives which control corporations generally, operate upon one corporation as well as another? Do not the dangers which spring from corporate audacity or seduction follow in the train of one railroad as well as in the train of another? How comes it that now, for the first time, we hear of the great danger to the State of Maryland—the crowning and impending peril—from corporate designs, which we never heard of before? Why has it suddenly become necessary now, as never before, to publish clap-trap editorials headed, “The People and the Railroads—Beware of Sham Reform,” and trash of that sort, except to stifle the popular cry for decent and effective registration and election laws? The thing is too transparent to deserve the respect of discussion, and the regret and surprise are that a journal, so largely read and patronized and so rich and prosperous as to afford to be independent, even if it has no higher reason for being so, should consciously and deliberately lend itself to the falsification of the issues which are about to be presented to the people of this State in this the most important election-crisis of many years.

We have dealt with the subject, in some of its other and equally important aspects, elsewhere in our columns.

THE TAX-EXEMPTION HUMBUG.

THE subject of false issues and perversions which we have elsewhere treated in part, would be wholly incomplete if we were to fail to notice the cry which the Ring has raised—the Baltimore *Sun* being among the loudest of those who echo it—that the main and true issue in the coming political canvass is not to be the vindication of the purity of the suffrage, or the re-establishment of decent and honest government, but the adoption of constitutional provisions for the withdrawal, from railroad companies, of all exemptions from taxation which they enjoy and the general reduction of their powers and privileges. It is pretended that a Consti-

now in saying what we think of this recent movement on the part of the organization with equal frankness. We rejoice in the resolutions. We rejoice in their admissions of facts which we have been struggling for a long time to prove by legal evidence to the community. We rejoice in their explicit promises. We congratulate the honest members of the Club upon their vigorous and apparently successful efforts. How much farther we shall be able to go, the future must determine. We shall be only too glad if it realizes the promise of the present.

In commenting, in a recent issue, upon the speech delivered by Senator Wilson at the formal opening of the Club, we cheerfully admitted, as it would have been unjust and uncandid to deny, that many of its members were gentlemen in whose honesty and sincerity the Senator and the public could safely and undoubtedly confide. But we took occasion at the same time to remind Judge Wilson that the class of gentlemen to whom he alluded were precisely the class whose good intentions are systematically smothered and their suffrages counted out, at the last moment, by their more numerous, unscrupulous and "practical" associates. We have seen no reason to doubt the justice of this observation, at the time it was made, and we must be excused if we await events before it ceases to impress us. None of the members of the Club whose "efficiency" at election-times is so well known, and has so often falsified the suffrage, have pretended to unite—so far as we have seen—in the resolutions which have been adopted, or have pledged themselves to uphold them. When the time comes for action, there is no reason for doubting that every member of the Club who has not committed himself will pursue his own course, and be bound by the resolutions or not, as he pleases. We should not wonder if there were some who would fully commit themselves and go the other way, all the same. We sincerely trust that the better element of the Club may prevail, and we cordially and sincerely welcome its efforts for good. But Mr. Morrison and the statesmen who constitute his "officialty" and his following cannot be accepted as Reformers at first blush. We hope that they may turn out such, but we do not know how long it may take them to do so, and we must be pardoned for waiting a little while to see. Their last works were wrought at the last election, and it cannot be denied that they afforded little sign or promise of the faith which is now professed. We must therefore let the faith be attested by works to come. If the Club will support men whom the Reformers approve, and who will pledge themselves to measures such as the Reformers consider indispensable, all will be well. For the present, however, we shall await, with interest, the "public and practical" manifestations which are promised, repeating our sympathy with those who are laboring to range the Club on the side of good government. It is but candid, however, to say, in advance, that we see no contingency in which the Reform party can consent to surrender to Mr. Morrison any leadership in the cause, or enter into "entangling alliances" with him.

THE NATIONAL CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE AND PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

WE place before our readers in the present number the able and interesting report of the special committee to whom were referred by the National Civil-Service Reform League, of which the Maryland Association is a member, the several resolutions recited in the report.

The committee treats the subject of their inquiry as consisting of two points: the one regarding the principles and methods followed by the National Administration in making appointments and removals, and in the enforcement of the rules regulating the classified service; the other relating to the progress of the reformed system in the State and municipal governments. The latter branch of the inquiry first engages the attention of the committee, and is plain sailing. Though they find themselves still unable to report the extension of the system by law beyond the States of New York and Massachusetts, it is most gratifying to learn that the investigations of the committee fully confirm all the most favorable accounts heretofore received of its success,

and to read that "it has fully vindicated its value and practicability, and justifies the warmest anticipations of its advocates."

We think it impossible for any fair-minded reader, after a sufficient acquaintance with the facts, to come to any other conclusion. Yet the committee remind us of what it is of the utmost importance always to remember—viz.: that "the only sure guarantee of an honest enforcement of the law, whether in the National, State or municipal systems, lies in the good faith and intelligent interest of the chief executive officers; and the only way to assure such enforcement is to secure the election of such officers." This is no mere obvious truism, but a vital truth which should never be forgotten; for, as the people of Maryland have the best reason to know, the executive influence and good faith are controlling factors essential to any practical reform.

After dealing with the State and municipal branch of their subject, the committee come to what they consider the main point of their inquiry, which "opens the whole question of the conduct of the Administration in regard to Civil-Service Reform." In grappling with it the committee must be credited with a style and tone at once clear, temperate and fair, and with a very considerable cleverness in adapting their treatment of it to the rule which in the beginning they laid down for themselves—"not to elaborate an apology nor frame a plea" for the Administration.

It is but just to say that the report nowhere fails to recognize the truth, or attempts to subordinate it to considerations of expediency or supposed good policy. It states its facts with manliness and equal fairness, whether they be *pro* or *con*; and when they are of the latter class, as they often are, it is always mindful of its rule, and never makes an inference in the way of an apology, nor suggests an excuse in the nature of a plea. It is, nevertheless, manifestly in the mind of the committee to say all that it can safely say to explain, if not to extenuate, the faults of the Administration, and to leave the inference that, when all has been said on both sides, there will be a balance to the credit of the President sufficient to show that even his worst acts do not necessarily imply a conscious abandonment of reform. It requires a somewhat subtle psychological treatment of the subject, it is true, to show this; but it is well done, and, in the absence of anything more satisfying, it is, perhaps, the part of wisdom to accept it.

In Maryland, however, where the acts of which we complain touch us so nearly and so sorely, we can find very little balm in philosophy of any sort. It is natural for those of our friends on the committee who are comparatively unscathed to regard our case with that proverbial fortitude with which we bear the misfortunes of others; but their report leaves us no room whatever to complain of their belittling it by any intentional understatement.

The committee, or its majority, is, in a certain sense, in bonds, perhaps, which limit their free and logical treatment of the President's relation to our case in Maryland, for the report frankly says that "in the city of New York and New England its chief appointments have been generally so excellent as to command public respect and confidence"; and, besides this, the inquiry of the committee is limited to the "conduct of the Administration in regard to *Civil-Service Reform*."

For our own part, we should hardly feel very much the restraint of these limitations. Perhaps our own grievances may be a smaller and nearer object to our eye, and may thus obscure the remoter and larger one; but, however this is, we fear we are prone to lose sight of the latter in the presence of the former. And then, too, we should scarcely feel able to discuss the President's course in Maryland from the exclusive standpoint of *Civil-Service Reform*. We shall not be suspected of disparaging the latter when we say that the laws of morals and good faith antedate all questions of Civil-Service Reform, and are of paramount obligation. If we felt the present occasion demanded of us a discussion of the President's appointments in Maryland, we should probably, in any unbiassed treatment of the subject, feel compelled to consider how far they are consistent, if at all, with a real purpose on his part to select for office, not the best men of our

they would know it in India, if one of its paragraphs were translated into the local tongue. The style of reasoning invented by Dickens with the immortal Bunsby, was a timely revelation and a blessing to it, and has served its editorial turn and temper just as that of Carlyle or Macaulay has shaped the eloquence of undergraduates. If it is accused of not discharging its duty, as a public journal, in vindicating the purity of the franchise and crushing out the tyranny and lawlessness of those who oppress it, the *Sun* will point to editorial after editorial, in which it has expressed virtuous indignation against bosses, though it has never mentioned any boss against whom it was indignant. It has often excoriated the seven deadly sins, with all the warmth of a missionary, but has always left the sinners to their own consciences and devices, after its sermons. Its indictments are always after the old-fashioned legal form, where the crimes imputed are committed by some person or persons to the jurors unknown. Virtuous, generally to the extent of virtue, in its editorial columns, and doing its unworthy work in manufactured interviews and cunningly concocted locals, it perpetually reminds one of the venders of improper literature, who have always an array of standard Bibles in the front windows and sell the wickedness in the back shop.

With such a journal as this, valuable and useful, beyond doubt, as a newspaper, and therefore circulating very largely, and in that respect deservedly, in the city and State—the only journal, in fact, of Democratic proclivities which has any very large circulation in Maryland—it is not difficult to understand how public sentiment may be misled and demoralized by a perpetual show of respectability, candor and moderation. The *Sun* seems to have no conception that an honest and disinterested motive can prompt any man to denounce political or partisan abuses. It cannot comprehend how a citizen can have, sincerely and patriotically, the desire to see his own party purified and his State well and honestly governed. Being itself really indignant at nothing, except in the way of business, it assumes that no one can avoid having some personal end to gain by lifting his voice against abuses and offenders. A man above reproach, like Mr. Cowen, whom it cannot reach except by sneering at his motives, belittling his facts and impeaching his sincerity, it endeavors to reduce to the level of its own ideas by the use of those methods of assault. We cannot shut our eyes to its power for evil in this regard. No man, who appreciates the value of an independent, high-toned press—who knows what good can be done among a free people and a great party by the bold and manly denunciation of wrong and assertion of right,—can help lamenting the calamity that the *Sun* is the only Democratic journal in Maryland whose subscription-list carries it to the homes of large numbers of its citizens.

Against such an influence, the time for a reaction must come; and how little soever may be the force of this journal or the value of its opinions, we feel it due to the honest people of the State to warn them against the pitfalls in which they will inevitably find themselves in following a guide with which political rectitude is an abstraction and political corruptions and offenders are always anonymous.

EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND BUSINESS PROSPERITY.

IN the *Sun* of February 22d we find ourselves impeached for divers high crimes and misdemeanors. We have, it seems, been the allies of Mr. John K. Cowen and *Harper's Weekly* in "sully[ing] the good name of the city and thus seriously injuring its business prosperity"; indeed, "more than once" the *Sun* has "noticed a covert sneer" in our columns "at what is called the 'business prosperity' of the city"; moreover, we "seek to overthrow the Democratic party from top to bottom, and not to work out reform within its lines," and to this end "the President has been long since derided and ostracized" by us, "the executive of the State is openly and furiously assailed, . . . the Mayor is ridiculed and denounced by turns, . . . and so *ad infinitum* the work of detraction goes on" in our office, by which "work of detraction," we had been told by the same authority four

days before, Baltimore has been or is likely to be "reduced to a sort of way-station to its great Northern rival."

It is unpleasant to confess one's faults, especially if one has also to confess entire impenitence for them; but we are obliged in candor to admit that we have ridiculed, and expect to ridicule, not, indeed, "the business prosperity of the city," but the *Sun's* method of promoting it, which seems to us both demoralizing and childish; that we have freely criticised and propose to freely criticise the actions of public servants, whatever their official rank or party affiliations, and that we care neither more nor less for the Democratic party than we do for the Republican party, or the Prohibition party, or the Labor party, regarding all parties as good or bad in so far only as they respectively advance or impede the cause of good government. We give to the present movement for reform within the Democratic party (believing it to be honest and salutary) the same cordial support and endorsement which we would give to a similar movement within the Republican party, or that we gave to the "fusion" movement which sought to elect Judge Brown. We see no necessity and do not propose to defend these principles; we have always openly professed them and acted upon them, and our future course will be as our past has been. If the *Sun* thinks this will aid in reducing Baltimore to a way-station, then so much the worse for Baltimore, or rather for the common sense of the *Sun*.

In the same editorial, however, it charges that "two distinct points" which it says we "made against" it in our last month's issue are "coupled with a vast deal of insinuation and lofty Pecksniffian morality and propriety." We fear that its ideas of morality and propriety (if these have been fairly illustrated by its recent action) and ours differ and will continue to differ widely; but it will not find, we think, in this month's issue any room for complaint that we comment *per indirectum*, at least on itself. Here, however, we would speak briefly of its theory that the "business prosperity of the city" has been or can be advanced by its press ignoring or "minimizing" notorious abuses in its government, which doctrine, we should add in fairness, appears to be entertained by others among our local cotemporaries and by not a few of those who style themselves *par excellence* our "business men." In a rivalry between Pumpkinton and Squashville, or Scrabbletown and Swampoodle, it is not wholly unnatural that the five hundred inhabitants of the one or the other should believe that they will grow more rapidly in numbers and wealth by telling fibs about the village across the way and puffing their own pumps and pigstyes. But in any such city as Baltimore it ought to be, and in all other great American cities (so far as we know) it is, recognized by intelligent and educated people, at least, that the relative "business prosperity" of two cities of this class ultimately depends, and depends only, upon two factors—namely, their respective geographical positions and the comparative intelligence and energy of their respective inhabitants. "Business prosperity" means, after all, simply success in making money; and if Baltimore is really, as the *Sun* says, sinking into "a sort of way-station," this shows only that Baltimoreans either have not as great facilities or have not the same aptitude for making money as New Yorkers or Bostonians or Philadelphians, or the residents of Western cities. The remedy for this, in so far as it is remediable, is that they should work harder, calculate more shrewdly, and, in short, attend better to their business; and there would be more likelihood of their doing this if our local press would strive to eradicate instead of to foster the puerile but too prevalent belief among us that the city can be made prosperous by studied misrepresentation or such advertising devices as banquets and Orioles. We do not mean, of course, that there is anything intrinsically objectionable in the latter. Banquets are very good things in their way, especially if the cup does not pass too freely; and, although we consider the designing of "floats" and parading the streets in fantastic dress rather poor work for adults, yet—

"A little nonsense now and then
Is relished by the wisest men."

What is really foolish and harmful is that this play should be taken for work, this sport for business; and it is even

worse and less sensible to imagine that our trade can be enlarged or its profits increased by the suppression of what is true or suggestion of what is false as to our local affairs. That any one of average intelligence and information can really believe that one dollar was or could be lost to the city by Mr. Cowen's revelations seems to us simply impossible; the idea is as preposterous as Mr. Hodges' campaign argument that our Southern trade would be imperiled by his defeat; and that either proposition should have been seriously advanced shows, to our mind, a singular contempt in its authors for the enlightenment of our merchants.

But if we are to assume that the *Sun* does in good faith believe what it says, what are we to think of its conduct? "If," says Macaulay, speaking of Hastings, "we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire"; and, if we understand the meaning of the *Sun's* words, it is a wicked action to "sully the good name of the city and thus seriously injure its business prosperity" by publishing Mr. Cowen's charges and evidence. Nevertheless, it deliberately committed this wicked action for no reason except that Mr. Cowen hired it to do so. Without any affectation of modesty, we may say safely that five persons read his letter in its columns for one who read it in ours, and this happened solely because the *Sun* made three or four hundred dollars by letting it happen. It is very fond, no doubt, of the "business prosperity" aforesaid, but, like Mr. Jingle's "loss of honor," this affection has its price.

We own ourselves too "Pecksniffian" to appreciate this standard of "morality and propriety." We are too much "in the azure" to sympathize with the *Sun's* peculiar form of disinterestedness; and we have, further, we admit, notions about veracity which may convict us, in its judgment, of all the pharisaical overrighteousness of "the elect." The *Sun* notoriously abhors "insinuations," so we will content ourselves with saying, with all possible bluntness, that for falsehood, whether conveyed by open misrepresentation of facts, or by silence as to half the truth, or finally by "sneers," more or less "covert," at candor and independence in others, neither several hundred dollars' worth of devotion to the city's "business prosperity" nor equivalent indignation against those who "sully its good name" (without being paid to do so) can atone.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EXEMPTION OF RAILROAD PROPERTY FROM TAXATION?

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—Several of the Maryland papers, finding it impossible to answer the arguments of Mr. John K. Cowen, and knowing the facts contained in his late letter cannot be refuted, have persistently evaded the issues tendered by that gentleman and ingeniously tried to break the force of their publication by attributing to the writer and those whom he represents improper and selfish motives. At the head of the list of these papers we find the Baltimore *Sun*. The utterances throughout its editorial columns and its Washington letters are so alike and follow each other in such regular succession that we are irresistibly inclined to the conclusion that both columns are inspired by one mind, if not written by one pen.

Can it be that so intelligent a journal as the *Sun* seriously thinks the people of Baltimore can be induced to believe Mr. Cowen a "libeler" of the fair fame of their city by such nonsense as the paper indulges in occasionally? Can it believe an intelligent community will be humbugged by such editorials as its leader of February 18th, or such misstatements of facts as are contained in the letter of its Washington correspondent published the following day?

The taxation of corporation property is a popular theme in our State. It is just and right, and consequently reaches the popular heart promptly. The clamor for a new constitution in order to reach this end is mere demagoguery and gotten up for popular effect, as every intelligent lawyer knows that legislation can accomplish the same end just as effectively as it could be accomplished by a constitutional convention. There are valid reasons why there should be a new or liberally amended constitution, but the taxation of corporate property is not one of them. It is equally true that if the general public suffer from corporate exemption, the leaders of the corrupt Democracy of the State are the responsible authors of such unjust legislation. The *Sun* knows this as clearly as the writer of this letter, and when it published the letter of its Washington correspondent, February 19th, in which this language appears: "It is a matter of history that a then State Senator, now one of the foremost in the 1887 Reform

movement, took the radical ground on the floor of the Senate that it was wrong to require the Baltimore and Ohio to pay the tax of one-half of one per cent. upon its revenues, small as that sum is in the view of public men of to-day, but a decided gain upon no taxation at all," it was guilty of a palpable intent to deceive the public.

The letter has reference to the bill introduced in the Senate of Maryland by Mr. McLane, at the January session, 1878, providing for an adjustment of "pending controversies between the State of Maryland and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company" (Senate Journal, p. 178), and the State Senator above alluded to is the Hon. Jas. U. Dennis, President of the Oratorio Hall meeting. The bill became a law and is to be found among the Acts of 1878, ch. 155, and is too long to even summarize in this article. At the time of the introduction of this bill (of which Arthur P. Gorman was the father), the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company was indebted to the State as follows:

On judgments in "capitation-tax" cases	\$1,181,248 69
On State tax of one-half of one per cent. on gross receipts from April, 1872, to March, 1878.....	128,062 26
On account of dividends on Washington Branch Road,	137,500 00

• Total indebtedness.....\$1,446,810 95

The greater part of this debt had been litigated, the State's rights judicially determined, and the railroad company obliged to pay into the State treasury.

Under the Act of 1832, the company was obliged to pay the State one-fifth of its receipts from passenger travel on its Washington Branch, and the plan of adjustment was to release the company from this obligation and from the payment of all the above indebtedness except the sum of one hundred thousand five hundred and forty-six dollars and sixty-four cents, in full of State taxes on gross receipts from April, 1872, to December, 1877, and three hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and seventy dollars and fifty-six cents, on account of one-fifth receipts on Washington Branch and dividends on the State's stock in that road, and to release the said company and all its franchises from all taxation for State purposes, in consideration of the company paying to the State an annual tax of one-half of one per cent. on its gross receipts within the State of Maryland.

When this settlement was proposed, the best-informed men in the Legislature believed it to be a great concession to the railroad company, and an injustice to the taxpayers of the State. The impoverished condition of the road at the time and the great decline in the value of its stock were used as arguments to bring to the bill the needed support.

When the bill came up for consideration in the Senate, Mr. James U. Dennis offered an amendment requiring the taxation of all the property of the railroad company and its franchises for State, county and municipal purposes, according to the laws of the State, in consideration of the State's release of the obligation to pay the one-fifth of gross receipts, etc., and upon thus submitting its property to taxation as other property in the State, and the payment of four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to release said company from its obligation to pay the balance of the sum due. The vote was taken on this amendment and it received eight votes, the only Democrats being DENNIS, FRANKLIN and SULLIVAN. Those voting in the negative included Messrs. BANNON, GORMAN, McLANE, PETER and STUMP. (See Senate Journal, pp. 531-5.)

This amendment being defeated, Mr. Franklin offered an amendment, "That the right is hereby reserved to the State by Act of the Legislature to alter, amend or repeal any of the provisions of this Act"; and this amendment was defeated, the above members voting as they did on the former amendment.

On the 18th of March the bill came up on final passage, and the three Democrats voted against the bill after all their amendments were defeated, and Mr. Gorman and his regular Democratic friends, who defeated the amendments, passed the bill by their votes.

This is the written history of the incident referred to in the above extract from the *Sun's* publication, and, being written in the official records of the Legislature, there is no question about the utter want of truth in the reference in said publication contained.

As further evidence of the injustice done the gentlemen connected with the Oratorio Hall meeting, and the absolute recklessness of the Baltimore *Sun's* publications, editorial and otherwise, follow this same measure across the hall at Annapolis and ascertain the standing of the present Reform and regular (?) Democrats on the question of taxing railroad property.

Among the members of the House in 1878 were: F. S. Hoblitzell, Eugene Higgins, Isidor Kayner, Thomas McCosker, of Baltimore City; Acton, Nutwell, Sam Cox, Murray Vandiver, Philip F. Thomas, Montgomery Blair, E. L. F. Hardcastle, John I. Yellott, Samuel K. Dennis, and others now identified with the Reform and regular (?) Democracy respectively.

The bill mentioned being before the House March 19th, Mr. Blair proposed to amend by inserting in Section 1 the words, "For five years from and after the date hereof, when the property of said company shall be subject to the same rate of taxation for State, county and municipal purposes as may be then or thereafter imposed upon other real and personal property within the State." We thus see the question of subjecting railroad property to taxation was thus squarely raised, as in the Senate. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 22 to 52. Among the Democrats voting for it were: Key, of St. Mary's;

Yellott, of Baltimore County; Hardcastle, of Talbot; Carmichael, Samuel K. Dennis (brother of James U. Dennis); McCosker (the lone star from Baltimore City); Blair and McKaig. Among the Democrats who opposed the amendment were: F. S. Hoblitzell, Nutwell, Acton, Cox, of Charles County; Eugene Higgins, Isidor Rayner, and Vandiver, of Harford; with a host of others identified with the Gorman Democracy.

This amendment being defeated, those opposing the measure desired to reserve to the State the right to modify so liberal a settlement with the railroad company in the future, should the people desire to do so. Mr. John I. Yellott therefore offered an amendment to that effect, and after full discussion even that was defeated, the gentlemen above named voting in the same way as before. Various other amendments were proposed; but so determined was that portion of the House recognized as Gorman followers to rush the bill through, that nothing could be done by those who supposed the State was giving too liberally to the railroad company. It is a well-known fact that Mr. Gorman left his place in the Senate and remained in the House while the bill was being discussed and voted upon, and the final contract thus made between the State and the railroad company by which it is made exempt from taxation for all time.

If those who believe the State is unduly burdened by railroad exemption from taxation will devote a little time to the history of late legislation, they will find that all such legislation has been supported by those prominently identified with the Gorman Democracy. And if those who feel disposed to adopt the erroneous teachings of the Baltimore *Sun*, and those papers of the State which follow in its lead, to the effect that the present Reform movement is inspired by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad with the view on its part to prevent the call for a constitutional convention, will reflect for a moment, they will see the utter folly of such an idea. The Legislature has the same power to tax the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and all other railroad property in the State of Maryland, that any constitutional convention would have. These corporations have nothing to gain or to fear from a constitutional convention, and the present leaders of our Democracy have treated them so liberally in the past that it is hard to conceive why they should desire any change in political and legislative leadership. Being the attorney for a railroad does not necessarily deprive an honest man of the right to form and express his political views, and to give some vent to his disgust for hypocrisy and dishonesty among those who affect peculiar virtue.

For the apparent purpose of strengthening the charge of "corporate influence" in the Reform movement, the Gorman Democrats charge that these reformers have been prominent in their opposition to the creation and maintenance of the office of Tax Commissioner. It is true many men in the State have believed the office ought not to be a separate one, and some of the Reform Democrats of to-day who were in the Legislature of 1878 opposed the creation of the office. It is a fact shown by the Journal of the House that during the absence of two of the members of the House, the bill creating the office was lost. These members were Messrs. Hardcastle and Yellott, two of the Vice-Presidents of the Oratorio Hall meeting. The vote by which the bill was lost was reconsidered, and after an argument explanatory of the objects of the bill and the necessity for it, made by the last-named gentlemen, the bill was passed and the office created by a large majority vote of the House.

A DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE OF 1878.

THE CONSISTENCY OF CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM ORGANS.

Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—It is well known that when shrewd criminal lawyers find themselves unable to contradict by opposing testimony the evidence adduced against their clients, they are apt to resort in desperation to the tactics of seeking to divert the attention of the jury from the true question before them by attributing malicious and personal motives to those conducting the prosecution, by assailing the characters of the State witnesses, and by introducing side issues about matters which have nothing whatever to do with the cases on trial. We therefore find it quite significant of the straits to which the friends and apologists of the "spoils system" have been reduced, in their attempts to resist the growing popular demand for its abolition, that they seem to place their main reliance not upon any denial of the existence of the glaring evils which have been shown to be inseparably connected with that system, but upon attacks on the sincerity and disinterestedness of those who complain of these evils; and on the assumption that all their complaints against existing abuses are but exhibitions of that malicious spite which defeated politicians are wont to harbor against the party that has been more successful than they in getting control of the public crib. We are triumphantly asked why these stern correctors of the public morals confine their criticisms to the shortcomings of those now in power, and have little or nothing to say about the misconduct of those who preceded them in office. A good specimen of this sort of comment is to be found in a letter purporting to have been written from Alexandria, Va., which was published last month in one of our daily papers. The writer, after telling the editors that he "would echo" their "criticism of the attitude of certain Civil-Service-Reform organs towards the President," goes on to say: "The frightful abuses of former administrations not Democratic seem, as you say, forgotten by them, and the changes are so

rung upon a few bad appointments of our present Executive, that what it has accomplished for the good cause is virtually ignored, and Cleveland wins scarce a good word. This ought not so to be, and the 'non-partisan Civil-Service Reformers' referred to should know that constant depreciation of the man who has done more than any American for the principles they advocate is not the best way to advance them."

Now, it must be confessed that this line of defense has its two strong points. In the first place, it is always particularly telling with that class in the community which has been compared to a man riding backwards in a railway car, because it never can be made to see anything until after it has passed it. To the condemnation of existing abuses these people have the same objection that was expressed by the colored minister who, when urged to improve a revival season by denouncing to his congregation the sinfulness of chicken-stealing, replied that whenever he introduced that subject it always seemed to throw "such a coldness" over the meeting.

Its other advantage is its convenience for universal use, in which it greatly resembles that very pathetic appeal to the sympathy and consciences of the jury with which a great criminal advocate was wont to conclude his final speech for every defense in which he was engaged, since it was so framed as to be equally appropriate for every kind of case, from the commission of a murder to the robbing of a watermelon patch. There cannot well be imagined a possible case of any practical effort to reform abuses, no matter how glaring, connected with the public administration of affairs, to which this same line of criticism cannot be applied with equal effect.

In proof of this let us take an extreme instance. Should we search the entire range of sacred and profane history for the grandest type of a reformer, we could hardly find a more striking one anywhere than the prophet Elijah, nor could we well point out a period in the history of his country when it stood in greater need of a reformer than during the reign of King Ahab. Now, let us see how appropriately the same objections which the Alexandria correspondent makes to the "attitude of certain Civil-Service-Reform organs" now, could have then been raised by King Ahab's apologists to the performances of that "troubler of Israel" in their day. "Why," they might have asked, "has this rigid moralist nothing to say about the frightful abuses that existed in Israel under former monarchs, long before the house of Omri had succeeded to the throne? Why, if his zeal in the service of the God who brought us up out of Egypt so long ago is not a mere sham and a delusion, does he confine his denunciations to the few shortcomings of his present majesty, and suffer the far greater transgressions of preceding dynasties to go unpunished? What if the king has not interfered with Queen Jezebel's very natural efforts to win some converts to her peculiar theological tenets, which this prophet claims to be unorthodox? Should we not make some allowance for the effect of her foreign education, and remember that she is his only queen, while Solomon, that paragon of wisdom, had no less than seven hundred wives, by far the greater part of whom were also foreigners? Why does this great stickler for the religion of the patriarchs make no mention of the fact that the royal builder of the Temple was, during the latter part of his reign, entirely under the control of these beathen women, for whose idol-worship he erected high places and altars upon the very hills around Jerusalem itself? And why this continual harping on the case of Naboth and his miserable little vineyard? It was not until after this misguided man had again and again obstinately refused the most liberal offers for the purchase of his property that criminal proceedings were reluctantly resorted to, and even these were conducted with all the forms of law. What a favorable contrast does the king's conduct in this matter present to the atrocious behavior of King David towards Uriah the Hittite, and the scandal in connection with his wife! And yet this Tishbite has not a single word of condemnation for the son of Jesse. Besides this, he seems to have entirely forgotten all the heroic services which King Ahab has rendered to his country. Although he was willing, when Samaria was besieged, to deliver up all his own wealth and even his own family as the price of the withdrawal of the enemy, yet when the proud invader demanded leave to plunder his subjects also, did he not spurn the proposal and to the threats which accompanied it make that spirited reply, which has since become historic, 'Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off'? And did he not then follow up these bold words with still bolder deeds by forthwith putting himself at the head of his army, and not only raising the siege of his capital, but even driving the invaders from his kingdom? And yet this sanctimonious, non-partisan prophet is perfectly silent about all this, and has only words of condemnation for the reigning sovereign. Is it not perfectly plain that all this pretended zeal for the old religion and reform is a mere shallow device to cover a nefarious plot to revolutionize the existing government and bring the Ten Tribes once more beneath the oppressive yoke of the house of Jesse, from which our fathers revolted in the days of Jeroboam?" And so they might go on.

I have taken this extreme illustration solely for the purpose of showing that the same objections made to the attitude of certain Civil-Service-Reform organs now, could have been urged with equal force against the advocates of every reform that has ever been known to history, and also as a practical illustration of the truth that the cause of practical reform is much better served by attacking existing abuses than by denouncing past iniquities, especially if those who committed them happen to be politically dead and buried now. Of course, I do

not mean to arrogate to Civil-Service Reform organs the authority of inspired prophets, and still less do I wish to be understood as comparing President Cleveland to King Ahab. I quite agree with the Alexandria correspondent that he has done more by word and act for the principles that we advocate than any other American President. We Reformers are glad to give him full credit for it; and yet, while we commend him for the good he has done, we see no reason why we should call his evil good. Nor do we believe that he would himself think the better of us for doing so. At a critical moment in his Presidential campaign he told his friends that he wished them to tell the whole truth about him, and that is precisely what honest Civil-Service Reform organs should do. They cannot do this, however, without saying that, in making such appointments to office as he has made in Maryland, he has departed from the principles which he professes, and under all the circumstances it is impossible to see how he can fail to be fully aware that he has done so. The wise man tells us that "faithful are the wounds of a friend"; and it is quite possible that President Cleveland may yet have occasion before the end of his administration to recognize the truth of this proverb.

A PRACTICAL REFORMER.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN PRACTICE.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSIONERS OF MASSACHUSETTS; FOURTH REPORT OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSIONERS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

These carefully prepared and interesting Reports furnish satisfactory answers for all the stock objections to the use of competitive tests of candidates. One of these charges was pretty well put by the New York Assemblyman who wrote to the Commissioners: "I consider the system of competitive examinations as a fraud, a scheme to fill the departments with college graduates or rich men's sons, after the English plan." The reply to this, if any one wants it, is furnished by the statement of the fact that in New York seventy-two per cent. of those examined, and in Massachusetts ninety-seven per cent. of those passed, had been educated only in the common schools. The actual relation between our public educational system and the merit system has been well described, singularly enough, by Governor Hill, whose words are quoted by the New York Commissioners. The examinations, he wrote, "are a constant stimulus to the better education and training of the people, and a recognition of the utility of our common schools, sustained at the public expense, and an incentive to the best men to seek the public service."

Another much-prized sophism of the spoilsmen is thus noticed by the New York Commission: "It is now said . . . that the merit system and competitive examinations, with their successful applicants from the public schools, will establish in our Republic what the objectors call a Bureaucracy, also on the English plan, the members of which will be permanent officials, who will form a class, narrow-minded and ambitious, which, with its privileges, monopolies, patronage, and power, must inevitably become a dangerous class, foreign and un-American in its principles and aims, and one which threatens the overthrow of American institutions. While the statement of this argument contains its own refutation," say the Commissioners, they cannot refrain from adding that the merit system, "based on the fair and equal rule of competition, and with strict reference to the rights of the people, . . . aims at the entire abolition of the old Bureaucracy, based upon spoils and patronage, managed by partisan leaders of factions in control of the machinery of the party, . . ."

The silly story, first given currency by Mr. Blaine, and greedily taken up by the *Tribune* and Mr. Gorman's Baltimore organ, that the competitive system had ruined the British Civil Service, is also disposed of by the New York Commissioners. From a letter written to Dorman B. Eaton by the Secretary of the British Civil-Service Commission, they quote the statement that "there is no question as to the expediency of competition; that is taken for granted. The purpose [of the inquiry instituted by the Government] obviously is to see if any real improvement, tending towards economy, can be effected in the organization of the force selected by competition." They also point out the fact that the defect in the English system is found in one of its characteristic differences from that introduced in this country—namely, the ill-judged attempt to divide the British service into a higher and a lower class, separated by an almost impassable barrier—and such a relaxation of the merit system as to permit seniority in the service to become almost the sole ground for advancement. "As neither this rule of seniority nor the division of the service complained of in England exists in our National or State

systems, there is no occasion for the least anxiety lest the inquiry . . . will bring discredit on the American system. . . ."

Leaving these time-worn objections and turning to look at a few of the results of the reform, we are struck by the effect it has produced upon the politics and politicians of New York and Massachusetts. In both States together, more than twenty-one thousand places have been taken out of the trough. This portion of the "*spolia opima*" the Yankee leaders and managers want in vain; and it is consequently not surprising to see them attempt every now and then to repeal the Reform Law. We have much confidence that no State, after trying the benefits of the new system, will return to wallow in the mire; and, meanwhile, the purifying effect of cutting off the immense source of bribery presented by all these salaries cannot well be overestimated. It is instructive, too, to think how different the public servants of New York and Boston must soon become from many of those who are so unpleasantly well known in Baltimore. We wonder how grateful Mayors provide for Northern Buseys (if the animal is found there), when we learn that almost every employe of the municipality of Boston is required, before appointment, to make plain the fact that he has never been convicted of crime. And how could our Sheriff and Police Commissioners ever bring themselves to agree with the Massachusetts Board in the opinion that one who has kept a bar within the last few years, is by reason of his business and associations necessarily unfit to be an officer of the peace?

The great variety of positions to which the merit system can be applied is also noticed in these reports. In New York, policemen, firemen, civil engineers, law clerks, interpreters, janitors of courts, and prison guards, have all been, diverse as are their duties, subjected with advantage to competitive tests. In Boston the field of the reform has been extended to include even the laborers. Not, as was stupidly or mendaciously suggested by Senator Gorman, that laborers are required to pass any literary examination; but, by a simple system of registration devised by the Massachusetts Board, laboring-men are released from their scandalous servitude to City Councilmen, and a fair and equal opportunity is offered to every capable man asking employment by the municipality.

In conclusion, the New York Commissioners see reason to believe that the reform is gaining ground in their State, where, they say, it already has the support of an influential part of the press and of many professional men; and they are sanguine enough to express the hope that a Reform Law may soon be passed in Maryland. The Massachusetts Board is naturally well satisfied with the state of things at home, but it makes no predictions for outside.

SQUEDUNK AND THE COUNTRY.

[From *Harper's Weekly*.]

ONE of the strongest arguments for reform in the Civil Service is the necessity of securing time for the President to attend to the important duties of his office which do not concern appointments and removals. General Cox, of Ohio, described in the *North American Review*, nearly twenty years ago, the complete absorption of the time of a member of the Cabinet by the importunity of office-seekers. President Harrison died of it. President Lincoln made humorous and memorable protests against it. Josiah Quincy, seventy years ago, drew a vivid picture of the business, even at a time when the Civil Service was comparatively very small in numbers. Sam Swartwout has left a characteristic account of the struggle in the first weeks of the Jackson administration, even before the floodgates had been burst open by the fierce pressure for spoils. But with the vast increase of the Civil Service, the assaults of office-seekers almost entirely consume the President's time. From morning until midnight the stream is incessant. Deputation after deputation, representing all sides of the great struggle for the post-office at Squedunk, file in and harangue him. In vain he tells them that their words go in at one ear and come out of the other, that he shall not remember for ten minutes the facts and allegations with which they have overwhelmed him, and that the public feeling of Squedunk is so aroused and exasperated that its pacification plainly requires him to find a candidate who has not yet been named.

In vain he appoints certain days and hours for the purpose of hearing all the Squedunk delegations and agents and

friends and backers in the country. Senators and Representatives, with sovereign disregard of all notices and warnings, insist upon presenting their constituents from Squedunk, who cannot remain in Washington, but must return at once, and consequently must see the President immediately. The pressure is overpowering. If the President remits every demand to the head of the department to which it belongs, the Senator or Representative reminds him that the gentlemen from Squedunk will return with a sense of outrage, which will be expressed in a manner most injurious to the party. If the President persists, the Senator or Representative is personally humiliated that his constituents should behold his want of "influence," and he raises his eloquent voice in the Capitol, demanding to know whether the grand old party (Codling or anti-Codling, as the case may be) is so destitute of men capable of serving the Government that rascally Codlingites (or anti-Codlingites) must be retained in place. Upon what days, he asks, have we fallen? What cuckoo is this in the robin's nest? O for an hour of Jackson, or for the chance of D. B. Hill! The President, meanwhile, having seen the last of the Squedunkers for the day, utterly exhausted, turns with a weary brain to consider the grave questions which await his attention, but which Squedunk has left him hardly time or ability properly to consider.

The absurdity of this business, the perfectly useless strain upon the President, the absolute impossibility of transacting properly this part of his functions in any such way as this, and of discharging justly the graver parts of his duty, are apparent to the common sense of the country. The Civil-Service Law is the beginning of relief. It deprives the Executive of no constitutional function. It interferes with no lawful obligation. It merely provides a form of subordinate executive action. It derives all its efficiency from the President. He approves the rules, and modifies them at his pleasure. Beyond that, the law which creates an office can provide for filling it. It is a law of Congress which makes post-offices Presidential. The law may vest the appointment of "inferior officers" in the President, the courts of law, or the heads of departments, but it may also prescribe conditions. No constitutional provision is traversed by the reform law. But it does not relieve the President himself, because it applies only to places to which he does not appoint. It is, however, the beginning of relief, because it shows the awakening of the public mind. The measure that would relieve the President would be the repeal of the four-years' law, which makes vacancies for him to fill, and invites the overwhelming pressure and the utter absorption of his time which we have described. If the deputations from Squedunk were compelled to submit good reasons for removing a public officer, instead of urging a candidate to fill a vacant office, their task would be very much more serious, and their visits would become fewer and farther between. It is a contest between the country and Squedunk.

THE PLATFORM OF THE REORGANIZED DEMOCRACY.

The following resolutions, passed at the meeting at Oratorio Hall, were crowded out of our February issue:

"Resolved, 1. That it shall be the first duty of the next Legislature to pass laws to secure free and fair elections in Baltimore City, and an honest count of the ballots as cast; that without pure elections there is no government of the people, but the whole system becomes an oligarchy of corrupt and abandoned men; that the will of the people fairly and constitutionally expressed is the order of our free institutions, and they cannot endure the pollution of fraud or the crime of force.

"2. That we shall insist upon the nomination of a candidate for the office of Governor of this State who is a man of ability and character, whose past life and public service shall be a guarantee that he will perform the duties of that high office with credit to himself and honor to the State; that in his appointments of election officers he will in good faith give the minority a representation, and will use all the constitutional power he may possess to secure fair elections.

"3. That we regard every misappropriation of the revenues of the State collected for the purpose of paying the public debt as a crime against the people. That we insist upon lightening the burden of taxation—first, by applying the taxes levied and collected for the payment of the State debts to the liquidation of the same as provided by the constitution of the State; second, by abolishing all offices not necessary for the public service; third, by reducing all salaries and

fees, subject to the control of the Legislature, to the limit of the compensation of persons engaged in similar employment in private life; fourth, by compelling the practice of economy in every detail of State, county and municipal expenditure; fifth, by curtailing legislative expenses and disallowing large contingent funds to certain officers contrary to the constitution; sixth, by the refusal to grant mere gratuities; seventh, by enforcing the observance of the constitutional rule of compelling every person to contribute his proportion of public taxes according to the value of his real and personal property.

"4. That public offices are public trusts, and should not be created for the benefit of individuals nor for the purpose of rewarding political services, but solely for the public good; the perversion of them to any other purpose is injurious to good morals and to good government.

"5. That we insist that more efficient laws be passed against bribery and improper and wrongful use of money in all forms at elections, and that assessments of every character upon officeholders for political purposes be prohibited by law.

"6. That we are in favor of granting to every human being within our borders full protection in the enjoyment of every just right, and of changing or modifying all laws which do now make any distinction in affording relief or in giving redress for any wrongs or violations of natural or legal rights.

"7. That we heartily endorse the national administration of President Cleveland, in its efforts to secure reform in the currency and tariff-revenue reform, and also its Civil-Service Reform, wherever it is carried into effect in its true spirit; but we are compelled to express our regret that in the State of Maryland the law and the rules establishing said reform are not administered in good faith, and that the federal appointments in Maryland, with few exceptions, have been made in accordance with the spoils system in its worst form, which system the American people condemned in the election of President Cleveland himself.

"8. That the chairman of this meeting be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a committee of nine to call, at the proper time, public meetings throughout the State and secure speakers for the same, to discuss the issues involved in this movement, and to thoroughly acquaint the people with the wrongs and abuses which affect them, and to call upon their patriotism and intelligence to apply the remedy."

NOTES.

It is to be noticed, in dealing with the corporation question, that the *Sun* and its co-reformers have confined themselves altogether to one side of it. In their enthusiasm to secure the Legislature from being imposed on, hereafter, by corporations and their attorneys, they have altogether forgotten that there is at least an equal obligation to prevent corporations, in their turn, from being plundered through the Legislature. As to the way in which money is made by our experts out of corporations in general, the *Sun* certainly does not require to be advised. It is not merely by making them pay for legislation which they want, but by levying blackmail upon them to prevent annoying legislation which they do not want and for which there is no pretext but plunder. "Our esteemed contemporary" must, therefore, be very well aware that even if it should, with its co-laborers of the Ring, be successful in limiting the favors which may be done to corporations by the General Assembly, it will have done but half its patriotic work. It will have left those unfortunate bodies still open to be blackmailed by the necessity for self-protection. The *Sun* must certainly admit that the safety of the Republic does not require this. Look at the subject as we may, it all comes back to the one, same thing—viz.: that unless men are sent to the Convention and the Legislature who have too much self-respect to be influenced by the clients of the *Sun*, it makes no matter what constitutional or legislative provisions may be enacted. Actively or passively, in one way or another, either in the shape of pay for what they want, or pay to prevent what they do not want, both corporations and individuals will continue, as they have been and are, at the mercy of the rulers of the lobby.

WE had almost forgotten to say that it is a matter of surprise to the uninitiated, that in discussing the evils of prospective corporate influence, the *Sun* should now make no allusion to the intrigue by which, at the last session of the Legislature, it was attempted to make a disposition of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal for the purpose, as every one in politics knows, of furthering the designs upon that unhappy enterprise which are cherished by the Piedmont and Cumber-

land Railway, of which Mr. Gorman is well known to be the guide, philosopher and friend. If there is any particular scheme of wholesale corporation and State plunder to which the minds of the people of the State ought to be awakened by their vigilant sentinels—and particularly one so specially well advised as the *Sun*—it is certainly this barefaced and audacious project. It is well known that the proposed early call of the Constitutional Convention, at the last session, was chiefly in aid of this delectable combination, and that the statesmen from whom the *Sun* is now striving to avert the popular resentment for our present political abominations, are those who urged it most, by every sort of means, and were most chagrined at its defeat. That they do not intend to bring it up again, in some form or other, before the Constitutional Convention, if one should be called, is a thing which no one at all acquainted with affairs is sufficiently credulous or foolish to imagine.

As the editors of *Harper's Weekly* and the New York *Evening Post*, together with about two hundred other respectable citizens of New York, are among the regular subscribers to THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, it is impossible for us to refute the wicked insinuation that we may be indirectly responsible for the vigorous editorials of the journals named touching Mr. Cowen's letter. We desire, however, to express the earnest hope that the editor of the Journal of Civilization, to whose manliness, generosity and untiring personal labors the election of Mr. Cleveland was largely due, and under whose brilliant supervision *Harper's Weekly* has done so much to promote kindly feeling and just judgment between the North and South, will not lay at the doors of a community renowned for its fairness and courtesy the spiteful and narrow editorial utterances of the *Sun*, in which that journal struggles to exhume the sectional hate which no people have buried in a deeper grave than ours. No journal whose editor had been born among our warm-hearted people could so far forget the obligations which newly made covenants of friendship and good-will between the sections have created. We beg our Northern friends to remember that their "land of wooden nutmegs," and not the virgin soil of Maryland, is responsible for Arunah S. Abell.

A CITIZEN, of whose existence we were not previously informed, writes us: "The editorial comments of the *Sun* upon your excellent paper have impressed me so favorably that I enclose a check for one year's subscription." We desire to put on record the fact that we have never decried the value of the organ of the criminal classes as an advertising medium; especially when the advertisement is inserted (whether on "demand" or not) "without pay"!

It is publicly rumored that a contemporary, heretofore absolutely free from any such aspersion, has perpetrated a joke.

—ESTABLISHED 1835.—

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PRINTER OF "THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER."

It is a very solemn one, we understand, and not visible to the naked eye, and consists, we believe, in the assertion that, whereas our columns are not used to advertise obscene and vulgar libels upon decent people (so framed as to be incapable of denial), and whereas our editorials have not the flavor of the brothel and the city jail, but are devoted, in an honest and straightforward way, to public interests, therefore we are "too pure and good for human nature's daily food." What Wordsworth really said was "too *bright* and good," etc. The charge is not actionable, but the managing editor of a paper which announces that "it is read every day by a quarter of a million of people" ought to be put in the stocks for mangling that time-honored line.

WILL somebody tell us why Mayor Hodges appointed John R. Hudgins to a municipal office? He has been charged, with the greatest publicity and particularly, with conspiring to corrupt our suffrage and to control our elections by fraudulent and illegal means, and has taken no legal measures to vindicate himself or punish his accusers. If he has not been appointed to office as a reward for the crimes with which he is charged, why has he been appointed at all? He has entered the public service substantially as "Jimmy" Mahon and "Billy" Harig went into the Custom House, the one under the shadow of an unsettled indictment, and the other with the smell of the prison still clinging to him. It is a curious commentary upon Mr. Cowen's charge that our municipal offices serve to reward those criminals who place in office the appointing power, that one of his "scoundrelly supervisors" should so promptly seat himself at the government table.

HON. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, in his recent address at Chicago, spoke at length of the evils of municipal government. The following extract shows with what frankness he dealt with his subject. People who profess to believe with a contemporary that every branch of our city government is as "nearly perfect as such an organization can ever be" will be edified by it:

Gentlemen, is there a great city in this country that—I won't say is well governed—but that is decently governed? Now, whose fault is it? I tell you that the loss of money is very considerable. I mean by that it is a thing to be considered. The loss of money is great, but it is the smallest loss. It is an infinitesimal loss. The loss of morals is the great loss. Every day that you let it go on, your moral loss is at compound interest. You can recover your pecuniary loss—that is easy enough; we are energetic people, and we do not mind that kind of thing; we can recover that fast enough—but I tell you that your moral loss is every day going on at compound interest, and that the sternest accountants that are known to human history are keeping the accounts.

If it be a difficult matter to promote decent government in great cities which are blessed with an honest and independent press, the chances of success are small indeed when that great influence is itself the apologist for political crimes.

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THIS Hotel, which has been recently enlarged and newly furnished, is situated on a cultivated plateau of 400 acres, one mile from where the Western Maryland R. R. crosses the summit of the Blue Ridge Mountains, at an elevation of 1400 feet above sea level, 67 miles N. W. of Baltimore (2½ hours) by rail, and 56 miles by the Baltimore and Pittsburgh turnpike, which passes through the property.

Monterey has been a public health resort for over a hundred years, first as a log tavern, then a frame boarding house, now a large brick hotel, with a new frame annex, capable of accommodating 250 guests. The buildings are newly and thoroughly furnished, having baths, gas, bowling alley, and a detached play-room for children.

In its earlier history, President Buchanan, Thaddeus Stevens and other eminent men were frequent guests there, also many prominent citizens of Baltimore. Gen. Lee's army of 40,000 men encamped at Monterey the first night after the battle of Gettysburg, as its commanding situation enabled him to control the surrounding country and woods and cover his retreat.

Among the distinguished features of this mountain region are the good roads and beautiful drives, which abound with every variety of scenery. Emmitsburg, Gettysburg, Antietam, Mont Alto and Doubling Gap are from 9 to 20 miles distant on macadamized roads, and there are innumerable shorter drives on dirt roads of from 2 to 6 miles, such as to Mt. Quirauk, 2400 feet elevation, High Rock, Blue Mountain Hotel, the Cascades, Devil's Race Course, Fairfield, Hanging Valley, etc. Antietam, Harper's Ferry, and Luray Caves are only 1½, 1½ and 4 hours distant by rail, respectively.

Rocky Spring, Bubbling Spring and Gum Spring are within easy walking distance, and the mountain peaks of Lone Pine, Monterey and Wild Cat are within a few hundred yards of the Hotel. Their summits are from 1600 to 2000 feet above tide level, and overlook the picturesque Cumberland Valley as far as the eye can reach to the north and southwest, while to the east the battlefield of Gettysburg, only 14 miles distant, is plainly spread out below, with the valley of the Monocacy stretching southward to the Potomac.

The remarkable salubrity of the air, the entire exemption from malaria, and the purity of the waters from wells and natural springs, have been among the chief attractions of Monterey from the earliest settlement of the country, especially in lung and throat troubles and general debility.

This locality has always been a favorite resort for artists and students of botany and geology, as it excels in the variety and beauty of its subjects for sketches and studies.

The Hotel Company has just cleared a park of 80 acres on its own grounds, in which are a number of springs, and a majority of the trees are pines.

As Monterey is situated on a plateau on the summit of the Blue Ridge Mountains, there are magnificent views in every direction, and the conformation of the ground is such that from the neighboring mountain peaks there is always an air blowing. This fact led the Hotel Company to purchase the surrounding 300 acres of land and have it laid off into building lots by C. H. Latrobe, C. E., of Baltimore. These lots are now for sale, and no doubt a mountain health city will spring up here, as the advantages are unsurpassed, and express trains make the distance to Baltimore in only 2½ hours.

Already Francis T. King, Martin Hawley, Dr. James Carey Thomas, Dr. Elias C. Price, of Baltimore, and Col. Page, of Norfolk, Va., have erected beautiful cottages, and several others contemplate doing so at an early day.

Mr. W. W. Power, formerly at the Girard House, Philadelphia, and the Water Gap House, Delaware Water Gap, Pa., is Manager of the Hotel. For further particulars address

JOHN CURLETT, President Monterey Hotel and Land Co.,

S. E. Cor. Charles and Lexington Sts., Baltimore.

of executive action and the circumstances under which the Administration began. In the exercise of the executive authority of appointment and removal, the President is generally compelled to act without personal knowledge and upon the representations of others. His chief dependence is naturally upon the heads of departments, who are his chosen counsellors. He is, however, in a high sense responsible for the whole executive administration. He selects his Cabinet, and he may justly require of every head of a department the faithful enforcement of his policy, and justly remove any such officer who refuses honest co-operation. A President bent solely upon reform would undoubtedly dismiss any Cabinet officer who did not earnestly and loyally support him, because the details of inquiry and action must be left generally to the departments. Personal supervision of every detail of administration, personal knowledge of the circumstances, or of the propriety of action in every individual case submitted for his decision, are plainly impossible, and the consistent fidelity of the President to principles and pledges, therefore, must be largely determined by the views regarding reform which are held by those whom he selects as heads of departments and Cabinet advisers. But it was in the selection of his Cabinet that President Cleveland encountered the first obstruction to reform. His well-known views upon the subject of reform in the Civil Service were not shared, nor was the reformed system generally understood or favored in its purpose or its details, by many of the prominent leaders of his party. Yet it is from such leaders that the selection of the heads of departments is properly made. This situation was a serious embarrassment to the President in the fulfilment of his pledges at the outset of the Administration, and presented difficulties which can be readily perceived, and which must be fairly weighed.

There are two other sources of information upon the subject of appointments and removals open to the President: the statement of local party committees and of individual citizens, and the advice of Senators and Representatives in Congress. But experience teaches that both of these sources must be regarded with constant suspicion of personal and political motives. The interference of members of either House of Congress, but especially of Senators, with the executive discretion in nominations to office is one of the most flagrant and most common outrages upon the spirit of the Constitution. In the case of Senators it is a dangerous usurpation which seeks to unite in the same person both the nominating and the confirming power. It is impossible for the President to feel that the representations and solicitations upon the subject of appointments addressed to him by members of Congress are mainly in the interest of good government and of the welfare of the service. Yet, except in the few instances of which he has personal knowledge, these are the most obvious means of obtaining information necessary for the wise exercise of one of the most important functions of his office. To establish an independent system for obtaining such information is one of the most important, and not the least difficult, problems to be solved by a reform Administration. The solution is, of course, resisted and impeded by all the influences at the command of the spoils politicians. But until it is solved an Administration will be always liable to fall into the familiar practice of yielding to the entreaty and relying upon the representations of members of Congress; although that practice confuses the executive and legislative powers, and produces great and intolerable abuses by stimulating bargain and corruption. Here, at the very beginning of the Administration, in the lack of official sympathy with the President's views and purposes, and in the defective means of acquiring indispensable information, lay a serious obstacle to the uniform and satisfactory enforcement of the principles of reform.

Again, the public service for many years has been filled almost exclusively by the adherents of one party. The advocacy of reform by certain organs and members of that party as its prospect of continued ascendancy declined, was naturally regarded by its opponents as a clever device to retain the party hold upon the public service, which had been treated rigorously as a party perquisite and had been unscrupulously perverted to party ends. This conviction,

which was universal in the party which supported the President, threatened gravely to perplex the Administration if it were unheeded by the executive. For many years the Civil Service had been undoubtedly a powerful and effective party engine. To accomplish this result was one of the chief objects of the Administration, and the practice was recently graphically described by ex-Senator Miller, of New York. The ex-Senator says: "It was the regular system, when Mr. Arthur was Collector and Mr. Conkling was Senator, to fill the Custom House with Republican workers. The whole State was mapped out, and two or three of the leading Republican politicians in each county were given offices in the Custom House. The minor men received Post-Office appointments. There was thus at the command of the Republican Senator an army of political workers."

They were not workers for the Administration party only, but under the Tenure of Office Act, which was passed by the same party, they became the agents of certain party politicians. Senator Hoar says in his recent speech advocating the repeal of the law: "The appointments in the Custom House, in the Internal Revenue Service, and in the Post-Office, which had been made in the interest and in the service of party almost ever since the foundation of the Government, ceased to be made even in the interest of party and came to be made in the interest of the political fortunes of special political leaders." This system prevailed throughout the entire Civil Service, extending to every post-office and employe and laborer, so that the service became a huge entrenched partisan camp in which the soldiers were paid from the public treasury. The correction of so enormous and flagrant an abuse was one of the most pressing and immediate duties of reform. If this situation should continue, and reform of the Civil Service should appear to be identical with the maintenance of this partisan camp, there could be no doubt that reform would be scorned by half the voters in the country as a mere trick for party advantage.

This view would be natural, and facts would not be wanting to sustain it. Early in this Administration, for instance, an inquiry was made of the heads of an important branch of the service to ascertain what reduction of the force was practicable, and, without an exception, they replied that no reduction was possible without injury to the service. Yet the great excess of employes consequent upon a purely partisan Civil Service is not only probable, but it was conclusively proved in the report of the committee to investigate the condition of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in 1877. The reply to the inquiry of the Administration sounded an alarm. It revealed a disposition which was most prejudicial to the service, yet which it was not easy summarily to correct, and which tended to confirm the conviction of the party of the Administration that the Civil Service was an offensive stronghold of the opposing party. This view would not indeed affect the duty of the President in accordance with his declared intention to retain during their terms honest, efficient and satisfactory officers—satisfactory because not aggressively partisan—nor the duty of insisting that minor places should be filled by proved merit alone, without regard to political opinion. But it would certainly make the discharge of that duty difficult. The dismissal of offensively partisan employes would be denounced by the partisan opposition as a mere pretext for a political change, and their retention would be resented by the adherents of the Administration as practical commerce with the enemy and a betrayal of political trust. The executive might feel himself to be menaced by party desertion and the perplexities in administration which such desertion generally implies. Here is another source of embarrassment which every just observer of the conduct of the executive must duly heed.

To these considerations must be added the individual conviction of the President that reform, however indispensable, was yet generally unfamiliar in its objects and methods and details to the public at large, and consequently that progress must be cautious and moderate. It might be naturally apprehended that an attempt to introduce the reformed system at once and at every point of the service would deprive the executive of indispensable support, leaving him without a party and practically powerless, thereby en-

dangering the interests of reform itself, and consequently that concessions might be made to secure such support. The President might reasonably suppose also that public opinion would be conciliated, and that the rules themselves could be more readily enforced, if there were no appearance of partisan predominance in the service. This view would naturally suggest the expedient of distribution of the service between the two parties in order to allay party jealousy, and to withdraw the service from party controversy by giving to each party an equal share and a consequent interest in the maintenance of the reformed system. This equilibrium President Jefferson held to be practicable and desirable. It might be thought also that it could be obtained by replacing incumbents who, in the interest of the service, ought to be removed, by successors of other political opinions, who were not open to the objections which had displaced their predecessors. This view, it is clear, is not one which would necessarily imply want of conviction of the need of reform or doubt of its practicability, or a disposition to disregard pledges. It would be merely a view of expediency; but to make it effective would require the utmost labor and care, because it introduces, as the principle of distribution, in minor places, the party sympathy and political opinion which it is the very object of reform wholly to discard. When this principle is once introduced it constantly tends to strengthen itself and to overbear every other consideration. Such an equilibrium, therefore, could be attained only with difficulty, and when once secured it would be necessary to abandon the temporary expedient and to discard the political qualification, whatever the partisan result in the service might be, because a complete partisan change effected by the Administration would show that the equilibrium was a pretext and not a policy.

We offer these suggestions not as a defense of the Administration against censure—a defense with which the committee and the League have no concern—but as indispensable to a candid judgment of the executive action in making appointments, removals and suspensions. They are considerations which suggest that the course of an Administration which was brought into power by an election in which the reform was an incidental and not a paramount issue might in this department of its duty be found to be irregular, inconsistent, and sometimes inexplicable. Yet such irregularity would by no means necessarily imply executive duplicity, nor a wanton abandonment of solemn public pledges.

In their inquiry into the enforcement and operation of the Civil Service Law and the rules and regulations thereunder in the Government departments in Washington, the committee have been greatly assisted by the details furnished to the *Civil-Service Record* by the heads of departments with the approval of the President, and published in that journal. There are about 5650 places included in what is called the departmental service at Washington. From the 4th of March, 1885, to the 16th of June, 1886, a period of one year and a little more than three months, the removals in this service were nearly six and one-half per cent., and the new appointments about eight per cent. In the State Department the removals were ten per cent., and the appointments five and one-half. In the Treasury the removals were five and a half per cent., the appointments ten and a half. In the War Department the removals were three per cent., including eleven dismissals by reduction of force, and the appointments were six and eight-tenths per cent. In the Post-Office Department the removals were two per cent. and the appointments twelve per cent. In the Interior Department the removals were four per cent., the appointments six per cent.; and in the Department of Justice the removals were three per cent., and the appointments twelve and one-half. That, notwithstanding this small percentage of change, there have been individual instances of injustice, of forced resignation, and of arbitrary dismissals, is certain. The report from Washington, however, upon the whole, is gratifying. Nowhere is the partisan and personal pressure for change more concentrated and constant. But the figures show that the rules in general have been faithfully observed. Not for half a century have there been so few removals in that service within the same time upon a party change of admin-

istration, and the observance of the rules and the condition of the service in the departments demonstrate once more both the practicability and the benefit of the reform.

Besides the 5650 places in the departments at Washington, the Civil-Service Law applies to 8263 positions in the customs and postal service throughout the country. The classified postal service includes twenty-eight post-offices, and the classified customs service eleven custom-houses. These are distributed among the twenty-one States, and in the other States there is as yet no classified service, and all the appointments are made at pleasure. In his letter to the League, from which we have already quoted, the President says he regards himself as pledged to the fair and honest enforcement of the law because public duty requires that, like all other statutes, "it should be in good faith and without evasion enforced." As none of the positions covered by the law are within the President's appointment, the only way in which he can fulfil his pledge and secure the enforcement of the law is by the appointment of friends of reform to the head of all the offices in which the service is classified. While the traditions of the spoils system are still fresh, and so many of the abuses which it produces are still uncorrected, there is a just presumption against the faithful enforcement of the reform law in its letter and spirit in all offices of which the head is not known to be friendly to it. A mere perfunctory observance of the law inevitably suggests that it will be evaded and violated wherever evasions and violations are practicable.

There are not, altogether, forty post-offices and custom-houses in the classified service. They are all, with two or three exceptions, situated in the largest cities, and it should seem perfectly practicable to ascertain the views upon reform of any person who is proposed for appointment to an important office and to foresee his probable official action. The uniform selection for such appointments of known friends of reform, as in the case of the present heads of the two chief offices of the kind in the country, the Post-Office and the Custom House in New York, would have been unmistakably significant of the purpose of the Administration. However excellent the private character and general ability of persons nominated to such offices may be, however high their party standing, and however efficient their party activity, it is plain that the best public guarantee of the honest operation of the reform law lies in the known determination of the appointing officer faithfully to execute it. This is a consideration of the highest importance both to the public service and to the reformed system. There must be general confidence that the rules will be observed, that there will be perfect fair play toward every applicant, that personal favoritism will be excluded, and that every man will be tested honestly by the result of his examination and probation, or the best men will not apply for examination, the system will be justly regarded as a mere partisan scheme, and the public service will be filled from the least competent class of the dominant party. But such confidence is impossible when the head of the office is known to be indifferent or unfriendly to reform.

We do not find, however, that hostility or indifference to the cause of reform has prevented the appointment of heads of offices in which the classified service exists, nor that they have been removed because of a manifest purpose not to execute the law honestly. But we know no better reason for the removal of such officers than that they do not effectively enforce, or that they directly oppose, the policy of the executive. The law regulating appointments and removals is as binding as the law regulating the collection of the revenue or the money-order service of the Post-Office; and the collector or postmaster who evades or violates the law regulating appointments in his office should be as peremptorily removed as for the disregard of any other law. At certain points, and especially in Philadelphia and Indianapolis, there have been what seem to be well-founded complaints of many changes made for partisan purposes, in contempt of the Civil-Service Law—a contempt plainly due, in our opinion, to the fact that the heads of the offices are unfriendly or indifferent to reform. But we are not aware that their removal for that reason has been contemplated; while the late Collector at New York, who was appointed by this Administration, and who was

proved to be unfaithful to the requirements of the reform law and to the declared policy of the executive, was permitted to resign. Just as this report is concluded, however, an investigation of the situation in the post-office at Philadelphia has been begun by the National Civil-Service Commission.

Thus far our inquiry has been concerned with the enforcement and operation of the Civil-Service Reform Law and the rules and regulations under it. We now proceed to the consideration of the principles and methods which have governed the action of the Administration in regard to that part of the Civil Service which is not included in the law.

The first official announcement upon the subject was the confidential circular of the Postmaster-General on the 29th of April, 1885. This was an exceedingly important document for two reasons: one, that the Post-Office is the chief patronage department of the Government, and the other, that it is through the postal service that the National Government directly touches every part of the country. The circular was addressed to certain Democratic Representatives in Congress, and assumed that extensive changes in the post-offices must be made, and that action should be taken without delay. The Postmaster-General stated that he was "impatient to assist our people in securing relief to which they are justly entitled from partisan postmasters," and he spoke of "rendering this justice to our people, which consists of those removals and substitutions of our friends." The circular was professedly intended to carry out the President's purpose of removing "offensive partisans," and it interpreted that phrase as meaning, first, active editors and proprietors of Republican newspapers which printed offensive articles; second, stump speakers; third, members of political committees; fourth, officers of campaign clubs; fifth, organizers of political meetings; sixth, officers who make their public offices political headquarters; seventh, or who impose political duties upon clerks; and, eighth, who do other acts of equal force. The proof was to consist in the affirmation of personal knowledge of the facts by a Representative or a Senator in Congress; and the circular concluded by the declaration that appointments to serve a mere personal end should be absolutely forbidden, and recommendations to that end would not be favored.

The abuses which the circular described are among the most flagrant evils of the Civil Service. The extension of the Post-Office system, which now includes 53,614 offices, into every city, town, and village in the country, makes it a convenient basis for party operations. This practice has converted the offices into party agencies which have made them publicly offensive, and no abuse requires more energetic and summary treatment. In proposing the removal of postmasters offensive for undue partisanship, the circular indicated a course which was indispensable to reform, and in strict pursuance of the President's pledge; and, in stating that he was representing the President's wishes and purposes, the Postmaster-General entered into a moral engagement with the country that postmasters removed for such partisanship would not be replaced by others of the same kind, and that the personal interests of members of Congress would not be permitted to dictate appointments. But in the interest of reform the circular was greatly to be regretted. It was an official recognition of the evil custom which vests in a Representative the appointment of the postmasters in his district. The words "our people," which frequently occurred in the circular, were intended to designate not the people of the country, but the adherents of a political party, and they were significant as indicating the spirit of the proposed action. Notwithstanding certain phrases, the circular was practically an announcement that postmasters were to be removed and appointed in the interest of a party, and its terms suggested the presumption that every appointment in that department might be so regarded.

On the 30th of June, 1886, the whole number of post-offices was 53,614, of which 2265 were filled by appointment of the President. Besides this number of postmasters, there are about 23,000 persons employed in the postal service, of which 6000 are included in the classified service. Within the one year and four months of the term of the Administration ending on the 30th of June, it would appear that the new

appointments in the post-offices had been probably a little more than 50 per cent. At that date the post-offices, which compose the largest and most important branch of the public service, were about equally divided between old and new incumbents. Many of these changes have merely substituted offensive partisans of one party for offensive partisans of another. The records of the executive sessions of the Senate which have been published show many instances of the appointment of political partisans who still continue in office, and who are equally offensive with those who were removed for such partisanship. A conspicuous instance of this situation is that of the postmaster in Indianapolis. In July, 1885, upon the statement then made, the Civil-Service Commission submitted a report which seems to us unsatisfactory upon the essential point involved. But a careful and thorough investigation of the conduct of that office down to a recent date has been made by Mr. Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis, a friend of reform and of the Administration, and, with due allowance for *ex-parte* affidavits and for personal statements, it establishes conclusively the most offensive partisanship in the management of the office—a partisanship which, unless disproved, demands the removal of the postmaster as imperatively as that of any officer who has been removed for that reason.

In the State of Indiana the post-office at Indianapolis is the only one included in the classified service. Of second-class post-offices, which are also Presidential, there are 16, and in 15 the former incumbents have been removed and the employes have been almost entirely changed. There are 76 third-class offices, also Presidential, and in 68 the late postmasters have been removed. There is no State, indeed, in which the Post-Office had been made a party machine more generally than in Indiana, and many changes were probably justified for that reason. Yet it appears that change has been less reform than the substitution of one partisan for another, and in the case of the employes there has been a practical proscription for political opinion. In Indiana there are about 1800 fourth-class offices, which are filled at the pleasure of the Postmaster-General. About 1200 of these have been changed, and of the 600 remaining the emoluments are so small that the offices are not desirable. According to our information, these changes, however justifiable many of them may have been in themselves for reasons of offensive partisanship, have been made largely at the instance of members of Congress whose motive in selecting incumbents has been proved by the partisan activity of the officers selected. These facts and details, which have been carefully and conscientiously collected by Mr. Swift, have been recently laid before the President, and already in December, 1885, Mr. Foulke, of Indiana, the president of the Civil-Service Reform Association of that State, communicated to the President much information of the same kind.

Such facts seem to us to show a clear violation of the moral engagement made with the country by the Postmaster-General. We know, indeed, that in a State where public opinion is indifferent to the subject, and where, therefore, it is not easy to find persons suitable for appointment who would heartily observe the principles of reform, many and gross departures from these principles might be expected. But the fact that the old "spoils" view is so general and so strong in the State, would naturally lead an officer solicitous for reform to peculiar distrust of the representations of members of Congress, and to seek other and more disinterested means of information. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. Indeed, the circular of the Postmaster-General practically committed the whole subject of removals and appointments in his branch of the service to the most zealous and interested partisans. Such partisans were invited to prepare charges against incumbents, and were told that their affirmation of personal knowledge would be sufficient. But the circular was secret, and there was no intimation to the incumbents that they should know the charges and be heard in explanation. This was a course from which the correction of offensive partisanship in small post-offices could not be anticipated. As a means of preventing the promotion of personal and partisan ends, it was of course futile.

Yet this is the only method of making appointments beyond the classified service which has been adopted by the Administration in the largest and most important and universally diffused branch of the public service. That upon a justifiable removal a political friend of the Administration should be preferred in most cases for appointment to an equally competent applicant of other political sympathies, is, perhaps, in view of the long and rigorous exclusion of members of the Administration party from power, to be expected. But the substitution of one offensive partisan for another is not reform: it is the abuse which is to be reformed. We are not unmindful of the situation nor of its great perplexities. The difficulty of the Postmaster-General is undoubtedly great. The postal service must be continuous. Its legend is that of the Church: *Omnibus, semper, ubique*. If a postmaster in the remotest corner of Texas dies or resigns, his place must be filled without delay, and the only immediate available source of information personally known to the Postmaster-General is the Representative in Congress from the district in which the post-office is situated. It is easy to see how the practice of relying on the Representative originated. But it is equally easy to see the abuses and evils which such a practice must produce, and which, in fact, it has produced, and the official recognition of the practice by a member of the Cabinet is greatly to be regretted.

In the other great branches of the public service there has been no specific announcement of principles and methods to be observed in making appointments and removals. But it may be assumed that they have not been essentially different from those of the Post-Office. Thus, in the three Internal Revenue districts in Indiana there were ninety-five employees, of whom all but three have been replaced by successors of the other party. In the United States Marshal's office, the custom-house at Indianapolis, and the District Attorney's office, very few persons are employed, but the partisan change varies from 88 to 100 per cent. In the pension office alone the percentage of incumbents retained falls below 50, but in that office an additional force, wholly selected from one party, has been appointed, amounting to 88 per cent. of the whole number formerly employed. The character of these changes in Indiana, so far as concerns reform, must be inferred from that of similar changes in the State which have been thoroughly investigated. The offensive partisan activity of the new incumbents is established by evidence quite as conclusive as that which led to the removal of their predecessors. There can be no doubt of flagrant disregard in Indiana of the spirit and methods of Civil-Service Reform. There has been substantially a clean sweep, and we have not found that one officer newly appointed in that State who proves to be an offensive partisan has been for that reason removed.

In the Department of State, while, as we have seen, the removals in Washington have been 10 per cent. in the classified service, the changes in the foreign service have been apparently about 25 per cent., a statement which shows sincere regard for sound principles of the public service. In the Department of Justice up to June 30th, 1886, the changes in the unclassified service within the Presidential appointment were 119 out of 180, or 65 per cent.; the removals were 60, the resignations 26, and the number of officers who were not reappointed was 33. The changes in the offices filled by the Attorney-General were 46 out of 137, or about 33 per cent.; the removals were 16, and the resignations were 30. But the number of resignations by request, which are equivalent to removals, is not stated. In the Interior Department there are 377 Presidential offices, of which 327 have a fixed term of four years. The total number of changes up to October 1st, 1886, was 268, or 71 per cent. The removals were 88, or 23 per cent. of the total number of offices; the deaths were two, or one-half of one per cent. The number of incumbents of offices having a term of four years who were not reappointed at the end of their terms was 65, or 20 per cent. The latter class include Indian agents, of whom only 3, or nine-tenths of one per cent., were reappointed upon the expiration of their commissions. The Treasury Department has thus far neglected to reply to the request of the *Record* to furnish the details of changes in the unclassified service. It

can hardly be assumed that this proportion of change was required by the interests of the public service, and it does not appear that the changes have been made upon any general principle, or for any reason that might not effect a complete partisan change before the close of the Administration. This seems to us apparent from the facts in regard to the changes in the Indian Bureau.

The just solution of the Indian problem depends upon a wise and comprehensive management of Indian affairs. Such management is as important as legislation regulating Indian citizenship and individual tenure of land. Careful and intelligent training in all civilizing methods and practices is now indispensable, and this can be expected only from an administration of Indian affairs resting upon business principles, and consequently ensuring consistent action and stability of purpose. The happy issue of the Indian question lies therefore in the total separation of the Indian Bureau from mere partisan control. But our information leads us to believe that the Indian service is now largely regulated by a narrow partisan spirit. A statement by the Indian Office, published in the *New York Evening Post* of the 15th of November, 1886, asserts that every care has been taken to purge the service of incompetents, but that no changes should be made on political grounds, and that no competent, industrious or faithful employe should be dismissed for the reason that he or she is not a Democrat or is a Republican. But during the investigation of the tradership scandal by a committee of the Senate, Mr. Atkins, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in reply to a question whether a trader should be removed for political reasons, said: "I do not think a man once in an Indian tradership ought to be there always." Upon being pressed, Mr. Atkins said that he thought it would be as fair and proper for a man to give up a position in the Indian service which he had occupied for some time as to relinquish "any ordinary office." The significance of this answer is unmistakable, and the principle which the Commissioner lays down in regard to the Indian traderships he has enforced in the management of places in the Indian service. Of this fact we have abundant testimony. Up to November 16th, 1886, of 61 Indian agents appointed by the last Administration, only 11 remain, and, in the judgment of the most intelligent and the most experienced and disinterested friends of the Indians, the change was effected in great part by political partisanship to make places for political or personal friends of party leaders. At many of the agencies, not only the agents, but nearly all the employes, have been changed for similar reasons. From the information before us—not, of course, official, but supplied by the most intelligent and devoted friends of the Indians, who have no personal or political purpose to serve—the conclusion is irresistible that the Indian Bureau has been managed in the interest of a party, and not primarily in the interest of the public service, and consequently that the administration of Indian affairs has been thrown into an unhappy and confused condition. From this condition it can be rescued only by the reasonable extension of the reform rules to the Indian service, and by the exercise of the appointing and removing power in accordance with the principles of the law.

It will be observed from this review that, while the removals in the classified departmental service, which includes 5650 persons, amounted to six and a half per cent. in the first fifteen months of the Administration, the percentage in the rest of the service, which includes about 100,000 places not affected by the rules, was very much larger. The first class, however, cannot be fairly assumed to show the proportion of all removals that ought to have been made for valid reasons, because it is confined mainly to clerkships in Washington, while the second class embraces the various branches of the Civil Service throughout the country, including the post-offices, in which the public interest undoubtedly demanded many changes. But conceding the propriety of such removals, the percentage of changes in the unclassified service seems to be too large to justify the conclusion that they were generally made with sole regard to the public interests, and such facts as those shown by Mr. Swift in Indiana, and by the most competent inquirers into the management of the Indian Bureau, may be accepted as illustrations

of the reasons other than those connected with efficient non-partisan service which have produced so significantly large a percentage of removals.

These facts and the conclusions from them are strengthened by the details of the course of the Administration in Maryland. The situation in that State has been very clearly and fully laid before the committee. In no State of the Union probably are politics more corrupt. Fraud and dishonesty are especially familiar at elections in Baltimore; but happily there is a most intelligent and resolute body of citizens of both parties in the State who persistently expose and courageously resist the evil-doers. The pending political question in Maryland when the Administration entered upon its duties was the re-election of Senator Gorman, who had been chairman of the Democratic National Executive Committee during the Presidential campaign. Senator Gorman is well known as a very adroit and successful politician, and he is equally well known as heartily hostile to Civil-Service Reform. The political situation in Maryland made it indispensable to the gratification of his desire of re-election that he should be supposed to control the patronage of the State. But he is so conspicuous a leader of the system which is opposed to reform, and he was so notoriously in control of the party machine, that it was utterly impossible to suppose that he would be selected as counsellor of an Administration seeking reform of the abuses of which he was a chief representative. Politically speaking, Senator Gorman was the very thing to be reformed, and his interference and solicitation upon the subject of appointments upon which he was to vote as Senator would be evidently an insult to the executive and a gross abuse of the Constitution. In view of the convictions of the President, of the reform purpose of the Administration, and of the proper relations of the executive and legislative authority, it seemed to be plain that Senator Gorman would not, in the current phrase, control the patronage of the State. But this conviction, if it should become general, would be fatal to the Senator's plans, and it was therefore absolutely indispensable for him that it should be removed at the very beginning of the Administration by some positive, significant and unmistakable act. This act appeared in one of the earliest appointments made by the Administration, that of Eugene Higgins, a prominent political retainer of the Senator's, to an important minor position in the Treasury. This was an incident which could not be misunderstood. It demonstrated the Senator's influence and power, and, even if there had been any possible misunderstanding of its purport, the misunderstanding was entirely dispelled by subsequent appointments.

The committee has very detailed and authentic information concerning the chief appointments in Maryland. But within the limits of a report we can only state our conclusions, without reproducing the detail of facts upon which they are based. The character of these appointments shows plainly that the influence which determined most of them was that of Senator Gorman, sustained in general by his Congressional colleagues, with one or two exceptions. This fact is not less significant because some of the persons selected were not personal friends of the Senator and are of high personal character. It is, of course, absolutely impossible to reconcile, with respect to sound principles of reform, appointments made in deference to the advice or with regard to the interests of a conspicuous enemy of reform, whose unsolicited interference was an unseemly impertinence and a constitutional wrong—appointments sometimes made notwithstanding the uncontradicted evidence of notorious unfitness submitted to the executive by trustworthy and disinterested citizens. It is equally impossible that the political situation in Maryland and the political reputation of Senator Gorman should be unknown to the Administration, or that under the circumstances the Senator's advice respecting appointments should have been supposed to be disinterested, or to be given chiefly with regard to the public welfare, or with any intention whatever of promoting reform in the Civil Service. It is plain that the worst appointments in the State have been made either at the avowed request or to the manifest political advantage of the Senator, and that, except in a very few instances, no important appointment has been

displeasing to him. The interests of a Senator and of a faction, not of the public service nor of reform, nor even of a party, have apparently dictated the chief appointments in Maryland. This is the conviction of the warmest friends of reform in that State in all parties, and it is certainly justified by the information that we have received.

We are not aware of any reason seriously offered for such selections for public office as those of Messrs. Higgins, Morris A. Thomas, Rasin, and many others, or for the removal of General-Appraiser Combs and others, but that such action was recommended by Senators and Representatives in Congress and by reputable citizens. But there is no unfit appointment of importance or improper removal in any branch of the Civil Service for which a similar plea might not be offered. The probable explanation of the appointments in Maryland is one that has been already suggested. It is simply that in a political community of such a character it seemed to the President expedient for the general interest of reform not to break with his party and thus invite efforts to repeal the law, or to baffle its operation, or to obstruct the general course of the Administration, but to compromise with a power that he did not feel strong enough to overthrow. This is a view which, like every view of compromise, may be honestly held. It would not necessarily imply conscious abandonment of reform, because such yielding might be sincerely regarded as a necessary expedient at that particular point. It is a view which we are bound in justice plainly to state. It seems to us undeniable, however, that the system of appointments in Maryland, whatever the motive, is not very different from what it would have been under an Administration which regarded the public service as party spoils.

But certain individual appointments in Maryland, and also in some other States, especially in Missouri and Indiana, must be more strongly condemned. However evident to us may be the impolicy and the wrong of rewarding party service or of seeking to promote party interests by the use of the public patronage, we are aware that the wrong is not equally clear to all good citizens. But no good citizen, whatever his view of that question may be, can doubt that a great injury is done to the National character and to the public service by committing public trusts to men of scandalous life, or of proved dishonesty. In some instances in Maryland and elsewhere it is plain that persons have been selected for public employment whose general reputation would have excluded them from the service of any private citizen. Into the judgment of motives we cannot enter. But whether this untoward result were due to deliberate misinformation, to indifference, to incredulity of the evidence submitted by persons of the highest character and often in party sympathy with those whose appointment they opposed, or to whatever cause, it is most deplorable. But whatever censure in such cases may be justly awarded to the Administration, it must not be forgotten that in the worst case of all, that of Morris A. Thomas in Maryland, the Senate, which was politically opposed to the executive, with all the charges and evidence laid before it and urgently pressed upon its attention, confirmed the nomination.

Beside the circular of the Postmaster-General, there has been but one other official declaration of a general principle that would govern the course of the Administration in making removals. This was the circular letter of the President addressed to officeholders and issued on the 14th of July, 1886. The circular was designed to correct one of the gravest and most notorious of abuses in the Civil Service, the interference of officeholders with elections. This is an evil whose correction has been often sought. President Jefferson proposed to issue an order upon the subject, and Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, prepared an admirable draft of such an order, which Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison approved, but which is not known to have been issued. The official warnings of President Harrison and of President Hayes are familiar. The similar warning of President Cleveland was in accord with his known views upon the subject. Officeholders were warned to avoid obtrusive partisanship, manipulation of party primary meetings and nominating conventions, and all dictation of party action. They were told that individual interest and activity

in political affairs were by no means condemned, but they were also reminded that a just discrimination between what a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used is easily made in the light of the principle that political action should be free from official coercion. As the phrase "obtrusive partisanship," however, was left to the interpretation of officeholders, it was clear that the precise scope of the circular would be variously understood, and that it could be determined only by an authoritative interpretation.

This interpretation became necessary in November. In many parts of the country there were obvious instances of disobedience to the executive injunction, and the President selected two signal instances to enforce his warning, and, taking one of them from each party, he suspended District-Attorney Benton in Missouri and District-Attorney Stone in Pennsylvania for undue political activity. After the election Mr. Benton wrote a letter of explanation to the Attorney-General. He stated that he had made campaign speeches, but that he had arranged them so that he could reach his office once a week to look after the routine of the public business; and he remarked that if the suspension was due to neglect of such business, he was innocent, but that he had nothing to say if the offense lay in making speeches. The President, upon consideration, replied that he had not intended to condemn making a speech, if it were in itself decent and fair, but that a series of speeches fairly involved a neglect of duty. Holding, however, that he had not been correctly informed in regard to the conduct of Mr. Benton, and that Mr. Benton had erred through honest misunderstanding, the President rescinded the order of suspension. Mr. Stone thereupon addressed a similar letter to the President. The President replied that Mr. Stone by virtue of his office was a part of the Administration which he sought to discredit with the people, a course which showed a lack of loyal interest in its success and justly suggested doubts of hearty official co-operation with it. In such a situation he held that the Administration would be unfaithful to its duty if it retained the offender in office. This reasoning seems to us to be conclusive against the reinstatement of Mr. Stone, if the facts were such as the President understood them to be. Undoubtedly, it would have prevented, also, the restoration of Mr. Benton, if the report that he too had assailed the Administration had not been contradicted to the satisfaction of the President. Of the other Government officers who, according to well-authenticated testimony, took an active part in the organization and management of party caucuses and conventions, none have been displaced under the executive order. The only one removed is Mr. Stone, of whom the President says: "There is no dispute whatever concerning the fact that Mr. Stone did join others who were campaigning the State of Pennsylvania in opposition to the Administration. It appears, too, that he was active and prominent, with noisy enthusiasm, in attendance upon at least two large public meetings; that the speeches at such meetings were largely devoted to abuse and misrepresentation of the Administration; that he approved all this, and actually addressed the meeting himself in somewhat the same strain; that he attended such meetings away from his home for the purpose of making such addresses, and that he was advertised as one of the speakers at each of said meetings." The executive order, therefore, as interpreted by executive action, seems to us still to await explanation.

This report is already long, and it need not be further extended. We have spoken with entire frankness of the facts which have been laid before us by careful and competent observers in various parts of the country. These facts show that the course of the Administration in regard to appointments, removals and suspensions has been irregular, inconsistent, and sometimes inexplicable. It has not adhered inflexibly to a uniform policy, and in many branches of the service, and especially in the States of Indiana and Maryland, its conduct has greatly disheartened many friends of reform. In other parts of the country, as in the city of New York, and in New England, its chief appointments have been generally so excellent as to command public respect and confidence. Indeed, the strong hold of the reform upon

the public mind is shown by nothing more plainly than by the fact that popular opinion is most favorable to the Administration wherever the Administration has shown itself most faithful to reform.

On the other hand, the returns of the late elections show that where patronage was most largely used to promote partisan ends the losses of the Administration party have been largest. This fact is especially illustrated in the State of Indiana, where the result cannot be attributed to Democratic disgust with the reform policy of the Administration. Ex-Senator McDonald, who is a strong opponent of reform, said just before the election: "Our State is thoroughly satisfied so far as Federal patronage is concerned." Judge Lewis Jordan said: "Why should there be any dissatisfaction in Indiana when all the Federal offices in the State, save a few post-offices, have been changed?" In the State of which this could be truly said the vote of the Administration party has greatly declined. Two of the six Congressional districts held by that party were lost, and in the remainder the majorities were greatly reduced. It is, however, an interesting and significant fact that in the Congressional district where the loss was greatest the Democratic candidate was an open opponent of reform and had thoroughly organized by patronage the officeholders in his district. It is obvious that whatever may have been the reason for abandoning the reform policy in Indiana, the abandonment has been of no benefit to the party of the Administration; while elsewhere, as in Mr. Willis's district in Kentucky, although the opposition to reform prevented his renomination, his majority in 1883 of 3736 fell to a majority of only 146 for the anti-reform candidate; and in the District of North Carolina, where Mr. Cox's fidelity to reform prevented his renomination, his party was defeated at the polls. In Minnesota, Nebraska and Massachusetts the gains of the Administration party at the Congressional elections certainly showed no hostility to the executive views and policy. The lesson of the autumn elections seems to be, therefore, that support of the Administration is strongest where it has maintained the policy of reform most resolutely.

Tried by the standard of absolute fidelity to the reform as it is understood by this League, it is not to be denied that this Administration has left much to be desired. But upon the showing of this report, which has neither concealed nor extenuated the most injurious facts, if our estimate of the situation be just, the Administration, under enormous disadvantages and perplexities, has accomplished much for the reform of the Civil Service. Whatever just disappointment may have been felt, it is undeniable that the old "spoils system" has been seriously shaken. Notwithstanding evident partisan pressure, the Administration has practically demonstrated that a clean partisan sweep of the Civil Service is not demanded by the intelligence of the country, and is not necessary for honest, efficient and satisfactory government. This alone is an immeasurable benefit to reform. Never before, since the partisan prostitution of the Civil Service began, has the middle of the term of an Administration found the non-political places in that service distributed between the two parties. Satisfactory officers in various positions have served out their terms, and some have been reappointed when their terms expired—a fact hitherto almost unknown after a party change in the National executive. The fragmentary results of reform which had been secured by previous Administrations have been fully maintained, while the aggregate of such results has been remarkably enlarged. Great public offices, which hitherto have been partisan headquarters, have been transformed into strictly business offices. Not for half a century has there been less obnoxious political activity among officeholders. Political assessments, although not entirely abolished, have been effectually discredited and discontinued where they were formerly arbitrarily enforced. Confidence and self-respect have been consequently stimulated throughout the service, and its *morale*, which tenure by personal and political favoritism destroys, has been signally elevated and strengthened.

These good results, indeed, have not been uniform and universal. But the fact that the chief censure of the Admin-

istration by partisan opponents lies in the allegation that it has violated sound principles of reform, and that the equally vigorous censure from partisan adherents is based upon the theory that its fidelity to reform has disheartened and disorganized its own party, is the unconscious homage of hostility to its supposed purpose. Even if the apprehension of some earnest friends of reform should be justified, and the further progress of the Administration, by effecting before the close of its term a complete partisan change in the service, should totally disappoint the anticipations which have been entertained of a constantly greater and more consistent fidelity to the principles of reform, its failure would not affect the importance and practicability of those principles, or the value and significance of the progress which reform in the Civil Service has already achieved. The apprehension of which we speak shows that the Administration stands at the parting of the ways. Much has been done of which, as friends of reform, we have frankly expressed our unequivocal disapproval, and much also which has justified the high expectations which were based upon the declarations of the President before his inauguration. The future action of the Administration upon this subject, therefore, will be watched with profound interest as determining the final public judgment of its relation to Civil-Service Reform. A rapid and comprehensive extension of the classified service, consistent adherence to the declarations of the President and to the purpose manifested in some of the most significant executive acts hitherto, with courageous confidence in the patriotic and intelligent support of the people for a course conformed to the principles stated in the President's letter to the League, would, in our opinion, dissipate all distrust and apprehension and happily identify the President and his administration with one of the most important, beneficent and indispensable reforms in our political history.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS,
CARL SCHURZ,
WAYNE MACVEAGH,
CHARLES J. BONAPARTE,
CHARLES R. CODMAN,
CHARLES CLAFLIN ALLEN,
WILLIAM POTTS,

March 16, 1887.

Committee.

NOTES.

THE *Sun's* comments on the report of the League's committee are characteristic. We have no disposition to complain of its calling us "our delightful Republican monthly," or its describing so much of the report as relates to Maryland as "an electioneering document," or a "libel on this State," which was "not to be wondered at, in view of the composition of the committee." All of these statements have precisely that measure of truth and fairness which were to be expected

in this quarter. In what the *American* says on the subject there is one singular omission. It seems to have overlooked a portion of the report which we should have thought deserved especial notice at its hands. "Whatever censure," say the committee, "may be justly awarded to the Administration, it must not be forgotten that in the worst case of all, that of Morris A. Thomas, of Maryland, the Senate, which was politically opposed to the Executive, with all the charges and evidence laid before it and urgently pressed upon its attention, confirmed the nomination."

THE *Sun* having been so good as to give the public its opinion about THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, we regard it as only a friendly reciprocity to let our readers know what it thinks about itself. We clip the following from the head of one of its columns:

THE SUN.

THE SUN is read by a quarter of a million people every day; it is the best advertising medium in the United States, and its prices are not one-fourth as much as those of leading New York dailies, with any of which THE SUN favorably compares as a newspaper in the best sense of the word.

If our neighbor really believes the statements which we have italicized, it can hardly expect anybody to accept what it believes about other people.

COLLECTOR HOPKINS' appointment of such a man as Charlie Keys to a place in the Tax Department affords a significant illustration of the effect of a rotten political system upon honest men. We entertain no hostile feelings to the Collector. We are ready to do Mr. Hopkins the justice to believe that he is heartily ashamed of his connection with the appointment, and we have no hesitation in saying that he would, of his own motion, draw the line on the safe side of men like Keys, who are notoriously unfit to be trusted in either private or public employ. In plain language, Mr. Hopkins was *forced* to appoint Keys. There was one alternative. He might have "lost his place and gained the world's applause." He preferred to live a Collector. Nor will sensible people believe that the pressure came from Mayor Hodges. It is impossible to suppose that the Mayor would willingly disgrace his administration with such an appointment. Indeed, the Hagerstown *Mail* innocently expresses the bucolic hope that Mayor Hodges will forthwith bring Mr. Hopkins to account. Of course Mr. Rasin appointed Keys. Mr. Hopkins wishes to keep his position and his salary for his support. Mayor Hodges seeks further political advancement. They have both leagued themselves to a system which makes both of those objects unobtainable except through strict obedience to the boss. They have found it consistent with their sense of self-respect to yield that obedience.

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1st. The establishment of branches in the different sections of the city, so that the Bank should be easy of access to every resident of the city.

2d. The opening of these branches during the evenings, when those who were engaged during the day-time could make or withdraw their deposits without the loss of valuable time.

3d. The receiving of sums as small as ten cents at one time.

STATEMENT FOR TEN MONTHS.

Total number of accounts opened to date, 5436, aggregating	.	.	.	.	.	\$49,424 88
" " " closed " " 717, "	.	.	.	.	.	12,481 89
" " " now open, 4719, "	.	.	.	.	.	36,942 99
Average amount due each depositor,	.	.	.	.	.	\$7.82.

STAMP DEPOSIT SYSTEM.

While the general operations of the Bank are similar to those of the other Savings Banks, the great number of small but regular weekly deposits has necessitated the adoption of a more expeditious and less expensive plan for handling them than the present system of Savings Bank bookkeeping. By the Card Deposit System, modelled after the Postal Savings System of England, deposits of fifty cents or less will be entered on cards, by affixing to them stamps which express on their face a receipt by the Bank for the amount deposited. This new system will shortly be put in operation at all the branches of the "Provident."

OFFICERS FOR 1887.

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that night, and that the Convention was to meet on the morrow, with Mr. Brown as a candidate before it, are purely collateral facts, which any fair judicial mind must exclude, for irrelevancy. Indeed, it would be cruel as well as unjust to consider them, when we remember that Mr. Brown was dropped next day, with Mr. Hodges, Mr. Turner, and Mr. Poe, into the bottomless basket, where Mr. Gorman serenely deposits his multitudinous squeezed oranges.

Clearly, if the Civil Service Reform Association can make no better case against our faithful and devoted officeholders than that of which we have given some leading features, it would be unreasonable and unkind, indeed, in Mr. Cleveland to quarrel with Gormanism in Maryland. Having quoted Father Tom as authority, we are bound to admit his proposition, that every man that judges by "his nath'ral sines" is bound to go wrong, and that "nobody foleying them seven deludhers could ever find out the mysthery that is in it. . . . Pon my secret word," adds his Reverence, "it's neither charitable nor orthodox ov you, to set up the testimony of your eyes and ears agin the character of a clergyman!"

THE SITUATION.

THE two great political objects to which, above all others, the energies of this journal have been consistently directed, since its establishment three years ago, have been, first, the passage of a law by the Maryland Legislature which will ensure the people fair and decent elections, and, second, the passage of another law which will remove the subordinate State and municipal offices from the demoralizing control of the "bosses," and prevent their use as a bribery fund to defeat the will of the people. We have always regarded these two matters as fundamental; too sacred for subordination to any purely partisan considerations, and indeed practically involving the life and health of our republican institutions, which are above party. Our readers, therefore, will be fully prepared to hear from us, that if the gentlemen who have been nominated by the Republican State Convention, and whose personal honesty and fitness no reasonable man can question, will personally pledge themselves to the fulfilment of the satisfactory and explicit promises of the Republican State platform upon these two issues, we will render them our earnest, unqualified and practical support. A proper respect for the opinions of those who have thus far given us their confidence requires that we should frankly and distinctly declare the causes which impel us to this support, and define its exact character and limitations.

The CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER is forbidden, by the constitution of the association whose organ it is, to form any alliance, remote or direct, temporary or permanent, with any partisan political organization. It will not falter on this occasion, nor has it ever faltered in a loyal obedience to the non-partisan spirit in which it was founded, and which its present friends and supporters have thus far trusted it to maintain in perfect good faith. On the threshold, therefore, of the pending campaign, we distinctly disclaim any support of the Republican party, or any endorsement of or alliance with any of its managers or any part of its machinery. So far as its platform is simply the utterance of the Republican organization (apart from the personal pledges and character of the nominees of the Convention upon which our support is grounded), we feel neither the desire nor the liberty to deal with it in these columns. We rejoice, of course, that its declarations upon the two subjects which most concern us are entirely satisfactory; that a profound silence was maintained on the sectional issue, and that to all appearances the untrustworthy party hacks who have often heretofore controlled the Republican machine in Maryland proved themselves on this occasion unable to dictate or affect the action of the Convention. The planks which touch upon national issues have, to our mind, strictly no place in a State platform; but whether they have or not, they have no relation to the

ground upon which we shall support the candidates, and we have no concern with them.

Convinced, as we are, that the only possible way of obtaining for the people of this State and City the desired reforms is through the rescue and protection of the ballot box, and that fair elections can be secured only by a defeat of the corrupt dominant faction of the Democratic party which has for years made our city contests a mockery, we should feel that any course short of an ardent support of any legitimate agency honestly working to that end would be to betray an infirmity of purpose on our part almost implying indifference to results. It seems to us that a hearty support of Messrs. Brooks, Dixon, and Miller is the logical and necessary duty of all those who believe in the reforms we advocate, and who feel as we do that the dominant party is itself the object most needing to be reformed. To continue to argue with it about questions of reform in the hope of any good results from its action, would be to be fatuous to a degree hardly to be looked for outside of the "Salvation Army."

So long as there was any hope of reform through the Democratic party, this journal, recognizing its undoubted supremacy in the State, time and again besought it "to vindicate its good name and re-assert its power for good." We spoke as follows in our issue for April, 1887:

"We found the Democratic party in full possession of the State of Maryland, as it still is, with a large unquestioned majority in City and State, with nothing to fear from anybody but itself, and in no danger except from the loss of confidence, which a disregard of its duties and responsibilities must necessarily inspire. We have endeavored to recall it to a sense of what it owes to the people and itself. We have insisted, from the beginning, that the true and only lasting strength of every party consists in fidelity to its own principles, and the honest and fearless discharge of the obligations which are imposed on it by the possession of power. It is because the Democratic party, being dominant in the State of Maryland, has permitted itself to be identified with misgovernment, and to be associated with the most hideous frauds in all things relating to the elective franchise, that we have appealed to those who really are devoted to it and have pride in it, to vindicate its good name and re-assert its power for good."

Such appeals as this, it is now manifest, have fallen upon deaf ears, and nothing more is needed to show that if the Democratic party of Maryland is to be reformed at all, it must be from without, since it cannot be expected from within. Indeed, we believe that the absurdity of such an expectation has become axiomatic, and that it is only held out to deceive the confiding and unskillful.

This journal, of course, although non-partisan, could never in its own cause remain neutral without being contemptible. To be so when great principles are at stake, for the support of which it exists, would be to be unworthy of the character which we trust the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has gained among its friends. Whether we do or do not like the way in which the issue is made up, or whether or not we would have chosen some different method of presenting it, it is now folly to argue. The issue is clearly before the people of the State, and it is plain that neutrality on our part would be an abandonment of the field.

We need not say that, having determined to support the Republican State ticket, we will support it with all our might. Exactly how the Independent Democrats will do their work has not yet been decided, so far as we are aware, but we are glad to learn that there will be an Independent Democratic working organization, through which the aid of that element may be most satisfactorily and effectively brought out.

[Reprinted from the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER for August, 1886.]

THE PRESIDENT'S CIRCULAR TO THE OFFICEHOLDERS.

THE President's circular of July 14, to the heads of departments, in regard to the intervention of officeholders in politics, has naturally provoked much diversity of comment. A great many think that nothing of the sort was necessary, after all that had been said before upon the sub-

ject, and that a little practical manifestation, by the President, of his being really in earnest, would have been infinitely more effective. Others are of opinion that the language of the circular is of a circumlocutory and slightly Bunsby-ish style, altogether unusual with Mr. Cleveland, which may furnish some convenience to knaves in slipping between his doctrines and their application. These comments and others of a similar character are made by friends of the President and supporters of his administration. The criticisms which come from the enemies of both we will not trouble our readers to consider.

For our own part, we cannot help feeling that the President has not only failed to state correctly, but, in part, has very incorrectly and injuriously stated the extent and modes of the evil which calls for his interposition. It is very easy, we think, for experts of even moderate familiarity with the workings of the "machine," to do the very worst that can be done by officials intermeddling with politics, and yet keep, with plausible fairness, within the circular's prohibitory lines. Officeholders are not warned, as they ought to be, against any and every use of their official position and opportunities in politics, but only against using them "in attempts to control political movements in their localities." They are not forbidden to display "offensive partisanship," but only to "avoid offending," thereby, "*their neighbors, who have relations with them as public officials.*" They are not instructed to abstain from their customary political intrigues and corrupt combinations, but only to remember that "*their party friends, from whom they have received preferment, have not invested them with the power of arbitrarily managing their political affairs.*" Instead of being commanded not to participate at all in political "work," of any sort, they are only informed—that we had supposed that the most audacious of them hardly required to be told—that "they have no right, as officeholders, to dictate the political action of their party associates, or to throttle freedom of action within party lines, by methods and practices which prevent the very useful and justifiable purpose of party organization." Outside of "party lines," it is to be inferred that they may "dictate" and "throttle," to the best advantage, at their pleasure. The President does not command them to keep aloof, altogether, from political conventions and primary meetings, but merely tells them that "the influence of Federal officeholders *should not be felt in the manipulation*" of such meetings and conventions, and that "the use of their positions to compass their selection as delegates to political conventions, is indecent and unfair." They are not at all warned against activity in political canvassing, but simply informed that official propriety and the requirements of office will "prevent their assuming the active conduct of political campaigns." And then—as if to throw wide open the gates already, one would think, sufficiently ajar—the President assures them that "*individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned*"—meaning, of course, the "individual interest and activity" of officeholders, to whom only the circular is addressed.

It is possible that in the Arcadian simplicity which characterizes the politics and politicians of New York, where the experience of Mr. Cleveland has chiefly been had, the instructions and suggestions which we have just taken leave to analyze, may suffice to erect that barrier between the officeholder and the ballot-box, without which experience has shown that free suffrage is practically a delusion. Some little familiarity, however, with the character, abilities and habits of our local statesmen, emboldens us to assure the President that his system of treatment is, at least, deplorably unsuited to our case, in Maryland. From the Hon. "Hack" Quinn to our Senior Senator, there is not a man of them who cannot drive an express wagon, loaded with officeholders and repeaters, at full trot, through all the provisions of the circular, without grazing a solitary prohibition. Concede to Treasury Inspector "Sonny" Mahon the full scope of his "individual interest and activity in political affairs," and he will cheat at every primary, pack every convention, "manipulate" and "throttle" whatever requires to be throttled or manipulated, as innocently and efficiently as if he were still only the respected and valuable private citizen

whom Mr. Gorman persuaded Mr. Cleveland, for the public good, to burden with the cares and pay of office. He will do it all, strictly, as Mr. Mahon and not as Treasury Inspector. He will let his "influence be felt" as a man and a freeman, and not as an officeholder. He will not "use his position to compass" anything, but will compass it, all the same, and never wink at his position once. He will pay "the boys" out of his private fortune and not out of his salary or perquisites. His official self-effacement will be as conspicuous and as edifying as his "individual activity." Who expects our law-abiding Naval Officer, Mr. I. Freeman Rasin, to thrust his "officiality" (as Mr. Hodges would style it) in the faces of the President and the voters, when he can do all that he wants to do, as an influential citizen of the Eighth Ward, leaving his Naval Officership at the Custom-House in a state of suspended vitality? It would be an insult to a man of his large experience and sagacity to imagine that he will have any more ballots burned, except in his purely individual capacity.

But we must not do the President the injustice to forget that he prescribes what he no doubt honestly supposes to be a preventive of any little aberrations of the sort which we have indicated. If any of his officeholders should not fully appreciate or apprehend the true spirit of his circular, he suggests to them a line of philosophical reflection, which will be sure, he thinks, to set them right. "*A just discrimination in this regard,*" he says, "*between the things a citizen may properly do and the purposes for which a public office should not be used, is easy, in the light of a correct appreciation of the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place, and a consideration of the necessity, under our form of government, of political action free from official coercion.*" We are compelled to say, if we rightly understand this observation, that we fear it hardly gets rid of the difficulty. The "just discrimination," which the President refers to, would no doubt be very "easy in the light of a correct appreciation," etc., but the trouble is in securing the "correct appreciation" which is to make it easy. We are pained to believe that such "appreciation" is precisely what the average officeholder is not altogether equal or inclined to. His idea of "the relation between the people and those entrusted with official place" is of the simplest sort. He sums it up in the statement, or, at all events, in the feeling, that the people pay his salary and he pockets it, and is "bound," as he would say, to hold on as long as he can, and "work" for his money. To turn him over, for his enlightenment and purification, to a "consideration of the necessity, under our form of government," of anything that interferes with his theory of getting and keeping, and his practice of putting his money and his ballots where they will do the most good, is likely to be about as profitable as the appeal to the friend of our childhood—

"Consider, cow! consider!"

Perhaps we are misled, by our local experiences, into undervaluing the reflective turn of the average officeholding mind—but we can imagine few more interesting, yet practically unprofitable, spectacles than the Hon. "Hack" Quinn engaged in determining whether or not he shall "fix things," in his ward or wards, by carefully considering the nature and necessities of our form of government. We select Mr. Quinn as our example, not merely because he is a typical and much-favored officeholder, but because, being clerk to the Inspector of Boilers, and not an accomplished penman, he necessarily has all his work done by his son, and consequently has more leisure than most of our public servants to study our political institutions.

The fact is, that the question at issue is a purely practical one, and is not to be helped towards its solution by any amount of rhetoric or disquisition. Half a dozen rascals turned out, neck and heels, for meddling with elections, as officeholders notoriously and habitually do, on all occasions, would teach a more wholesome and effective lesson, from Maine to California, than a library full of lucubrations on our form of government and essays on political morals and behavior. The proverbial milestone has been sung to, so long, that it has grown entirely deaf to mere music. With us, too,

in Maryland, the question can no longer be stated or solved in its simple form. It is not whether officeholders shall or shall not go into politics, for they are already in, up to their eyes. The President has deliberately put the Machine into office—how can he or we expect it to stop running? It would be quite as reasonable to lay a train of explosives and then issue a circular commanding or exhorting them not to explode. No one who has not taken the pains to study the details of party government in this State, can form an idea of the extent to which the administration of the Democratic party is in the hands of officeholders, Federal, State and municipal. The whole blood of the party and the people is, thus, in fact, in the mouths of the leeches. Let us illustrate. Upon the Democratic State Central Committee we have Arthur P. Gorman (U. S. Senator) as chairman and James A. McClure (State Supervisor of Elections) as secretary. Edwin Warfield (Surveyor of the Port) is chairman, Frank Brown (Postmaster at Baltimore) is treasurer, and J. Thomas Scharf (Commissioner of the Land Office) is the secretary of the Campaign Executive Committee, which is the working body of the State Central Committee. J. J. ("Sonny") Mahon (Inspector of Customs), Dr. George H. Cairnes (U. S. Marshal), and Dr. George W. Bishop (U. S. Assistant Treasurer), are members likewise. So also are Dr. Shaw (House of Representatives) and L. Victor Baughman (President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal). For the First Legislative District of Baltimore City, we have, as committeemen, J. Q. A. Robson (Police Commissioner), E. P. Vincente (deputy clerk of the Court of Common Pleas), and Isaac Sanner (Police Justice). In the Second Legislative District, we have James W. McElroy (City Examiner of Titles), John J. Mahon (Inspector of Customs), and Alvin Robertson (Clerk of the Circuit Court of Baltimore City). For the Third Legislative District, we are favored with J. J. Fenton (now Deputy Clerk in the Criminal Court and a prominent candidate for the Assistant Postmastership), John F. Weyler (City Councilman from the 17th Ward), and H. A. Schultz (Committee Clerk in the First Branch of the City Council). Mr. Richard J. Penn, late member of the Legislature, and recently appointed by Mr. Rasin to a clerkship in the Naval Office under the Civil-Service rules, is a member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic City Convention, from the Sixth Ward, and openly the chief engineer of the machine in that locality. The City Executive Committee of the City Convention has on its rolls the familiar names of "Jim" Busey (Superintendent of Streets), "Fritz" Buchheimer (Clerk of Fell's Point Market), Trumbo (Deputy Sheriff), Schwartz and Andrews (clerks in the Record Office), and James W. McElroy again (Examiner of Titles). The curious reader can readily complete the list for himself. We will only add the names of such active workers, not committeemen, among the Federal officeholders, as I. Freeman Rasin (Naval Officer), William F. Harig (lately in the City Jail, and now a "laborer" in the Custom-House), James M. Mahon (under indictment for "irregularities" in registration, and now a clerk in the Custom-House), and our indefatigable friend, Mr. Quinn (clerk as aforesaid to the Inspector of Boilers).

Is any man to be denounced as unreasonable or querulous because he turns with disgust from such an exhibition as this, and asks, almost in despair, if such a circular as the President's is all that we must look to for deliverance from such abominations? Mr. Congressman Shaw (of the Central Committee) is represented, by the Washington correspondents, as having said that the circular would "have the effect of intimidating some of the most active and efficient political workers in Maryland." He is reported to have added, with great *naïveté*, that it would also "prevent many good party men from receiving their reward, for as soon as such men are appointed to office their political usefulness ceases." Any prognosis of Dr. Shaw's, as to the effect of any named treatment upon the officeholder in politics, is of course entitled to much consideration, for he has always been a thorough "worker" himself, and did not permit his "political usefulness" to cease, for a moment, while he held the responsible and lucrative position of Clerk to the Circuit Court of his county, before the State had the

benefit of his still greater usefulness in Congress. But we cannot persuade ourselves that the worthy doctor was in earnest. He was obviously fooling the reporters. He could not look any one seriously in the face, and say that he believed the Ring, in office, would be "intimidated" by being left free to indulge "their individual interest and activity in political affairs." Unless he was unhappily born without any sense of humor, he could hardly picture to himself, with gravity, any of the "good party men" of his acquaintance refusing to accept "their rewards," lest by so doing they might terminate their "political usefulness." We prefer to accept Dr. Shaw as humorist rather than philosopher. But humor, at its best, upon such a question as this, can only be grim and bitter. To us, in Maryland, it is a question more vital, in the eyes of every man who thinks, than any other, of any sort, which we have to solve to-day. It is a question not only of good and decent government, but of free suffrage and political salvation. Than the yoke which is on our necks, nothing can be more galling, nothing more degrading. Than the dynasty which rules us, nothing can be more unscrupulous and base. Under it, nothing honorable, or independent, or noble or aspiring can grow, or live. Our young men cannot rise under it, without bartering their manhood, and no man, young or old, can make terms with it without shame. If the patronage of the Federal Government is to strengthen its hands, there is no knowing how long we shall be doomed to wait for the rescue or how much it will cost. One thing is very certain. We have the right to demand of the President that he shall make plain to his subordinates, by his acts, what may be doubtful or misleading in his words. We are his friends and the friends of his administration. We desire, from our hearts, the success of both, in the ways that make success a genuine triumph. We entreat him, therefore, to remember the warning of Rochester's epitaph on Charles the Second:

"Here lies our sovereign Lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one."

Rulers may profit by its lesson, though they be not anointed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MARYLAND INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS AND JAMES G. BLAINE.

[The writer of this letter is a gentleman whose zeal in the cause of Reform entitles him to ask for its publication. We must, however, remind our readers that the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER is responsible neither for its substance nor for its language.—EDITOR CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.]

BALTIMORE, August 26, 1887.

To the Editor of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—I ask the use of your columns to address a class, very small in numbers, but able, in my judgment, to exercise a marked influence in the next Presidential campaign—I mean those Maryland Republicans who, like myself, voted for Cleveland in 1884. There seems to be little doubt of his re-nomination next year, and yet the cause of both his nomination and election three years ago has almost ceased to exist, for the enthusiasm and confidence with which he was then supported by those like minded with me has been changed into a profound and general disappointment and distrust. The prevalence of these sentiments has been, to a considerable extent, disguised by the fact that the newspapers who would naturally express them, such, for example, as the *New York Times*, *Post*, and *Nation*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Puck*, all hold, more or less consciously, briefs for the Administration. I do not for a moment charge them with any purpose to mislead; on the contrary, their ill concealed and increasing anxiety, and more and more frequent remonstrances and warnings, like the guarded and friendly but all the more significant censure of Mr. George William Curtis at Newport, are among the most suggestive indications of the real situation. But they are so much involved in controversies with such papers as the *New York Tribune*, or *Sun*; they have identified themselves so closely with Cleveland, and feel their editorial infallibility would be so seriously impeached by a confession of his failure, that with, I doubt not, every intention to be fair, it is but human (and especially newspaper) nature that they should inevitably

"Be to his virtues very kind,
Be to his faults a little blind."

But no such tenderness will be found among the bulk of their readers. Mugwumps are too discriminating and critical, and Mr. Cleveland's acts and omissions have been too eloquent for them to accept excuses which grow constantly more and more gauzy. Higgins and Thomas and Aquila Jones, Gorman's influence and Benton's impunity, a clean sweep made by dribblets, and the Civil Service Commission changed into a white-washing machine: all these things have done their work, and if Cleveland is opposed by such a man as Hawley, there is a strong probability that he will find his best friends of 1884 among his enemies. All that is needed to convert this probability into a certainty is a series of lay sermons by one or more of those who can speak with knowledge, on texts furnished by his course in Maryland, delivered, not of course here, but in States which hold the balance of power in the Electoral College and wherein the balance of power is held by the Mugwumps. Our brethren of New York and Massachusetts and Connecticut, of New Jersey and Rhode Island, know enough to disgust them, but very far from the whole story; let them hear the truth, not only about Higgins and Thomas, but about Kasin and "Sonny" Mahon, about the sacrifice of Curran and the removal of Coombs, about the sham resignation of Trust and the open retention of Bacharach and Wallace Owings; above all, let the direct personal responsibility of the President for all these scandals be proved to them, and the flimsy sophistry by which his apologists seek to shift responsibility from him to subordinates whom he still retains, or advisers whom he still consults, be mercilessly exposed, and I warrant you there will be something to show for these labors. I make little pretension to oratory myself, but there are those among us who can do this work and do it well. Our fellow-sufferers in Indiana may be trusted to give a good account of themselves in the West, and if we are worthy of our opportunity we may do a full generation's task toward the redemption of our State from Ring rule and the punishment of hypocritical apostasy in a recreant Administration, *provided we have a decent Republican candidate to work for*. "Ah! there's the rub." One thing and, I believe, one thing only, will save Cleveland—the nomination of Blaine. There ought to be no misunderstanding about this. I have reason to know the sentiments of many Mugwumps from all parts of the country, and I am confident that there are not ten Republicans in the Union who voted for Cleveland in 1884 who will not vote for him again if he is again opposed by Blaine. I know that some, and believe that many, who did not vote for him then would, in the same contingency, do so next year. It would be hard to find a person less prejudiced in Cleveland's favor than I am, yet I should unhesitatingly do the little which is in my power to secure his re-election if the national disgrace and irretrievable damage to public morals involved, to my mind, in Blaine's election were the alternative. And as we Maryland Mugwumps, if the Republicans will give us a candidate for whom we can work with self-respect, should, I say, come to the front to unmask the imposture of reform practised by this Administration, so I am equally clear in my mind that if they persist in a nomination which is an insult to the public conscience, we ought to be the first to publish our willingness, while, of all citizens, the greatest sufferers from Cleveland's weak and unworthy policy, to vote and work for an honest man rather than one blighted by the fatal taint of personal corruption. Let the Republican managers therefore take fair warning. They can choose their path, but let them not mistake whither it will lead. When the Pennsylvania Republicans endorse Blaine for the Presidency, when the Baltimore *American* describes him as "the greatest man in all New England," the effect on those who gave up their party and faced no little obloquy and slander because they could not vote for him and feel themselves honest men, is as if they met with an ill odor. I believe I give voice to the true sentiments of every one who in Maryland can fairly call himself

AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOHN K. COWEN BEFORE THE STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-citizens:—It is strange, of course, for an independent Democrat to be here addressing a convention of his Republican fellow-citizens; but I want to say now for myself and for a large body of independent reform Democrats, whose opinion I know [applause], that we propose to support out and out the Republican State ticket as it has been nominated. [Continued applause.] In due time I shall give plenty of reasons for the faith that is in me, and others will do the same. I know your ticket—two of the gentlemen—well. The head of the ticket is a gentleman with whom to-day I have the most serious litigation in which the company I am connected with is concerned. He is upon one side and I am upon the other. I testify my confidence in his fairness as a political candidate by announcing my intention to-day to support him. [Applause.]

Now, the Democratic party, the "regular" Democratic party, as they love to style themselves, under the present management [laughter], has had its meeting, has announced its platform, and has put its ticket in the field. Personally, against the gentlemen who are upon that ticket, you will not hear me say very much, unless, during the progress of the campaign, they shall pay their respects to me. [Applause and laughter.] But it is the issue that is represented by the two parties, the State issue, upon which I plant myself, and with as much enthusiasm as I ever engaged in any cause.

[Applause.] I shall fling down the gage of battle and trip gaily to the fray. [Applause.] The regular Democratic party, after it has been pressed by grand jury, by criminal trial, by public meeting, and in every shape and form, has announced in its platform that it is in favor of the Tilden election law, so called, "*with modifications adapted to Maryland*." [Laughter.] It has boldly announced as a constitutional doctrine a creed that nobody but one lawyer, that I ever heard of, endorsed—that we could not now have an annual registration without a change in our Constitution! It has announced as a third plank of its platform that its theory of Civil Service Reform is the spoils system pure and simple. [Laughter.]

I understand that in the platform which you have announced to-day you have planted yourself squarely upon the Reform League election law. [A voice—"That is so." Applause.] Squarely for annual registration; squarely for Civil Service Reform. [Applause.] On those State issues I am willing to stand. As a Democrat I can go before my Democratic fellow-citizens and ask them to support the Republicans that carry that standard. [Continued applause.] I have no faith—not the slightest, and I shall give reasons for my doubts in time—in the professions of election reform of the regular Democratic party, under its present management. Why, we have heard that for twelve years. [Laughter.] Since 1875 the regular Democratic management, under Mr. Gorman and Mr. Kasin, have promised all sorts of reform and all sorts of election laws. Indeed, in one of their platforms they refer by chapter and number to the various legislative acts which they placed upon the statute book to secure fair elections, and yet from 1875, inclusive, until to-day, there never has been a contested election in the city of Baltimore where the regular Democratic party has not been defeated in the fusion movements. [Applause.] There never has been one single contested election in which the Democratic ticket, nominated under the present management, has not been defeated and yet counted in by fraud. [Applause.]

Who pledges the party in the last Convention to the Tilden election law? Mr. Gorman, its manager, who, in 1875, from Barnum's Hotel, organized the plan and headed the conspiracy under which the ballot-boxes of this city were looted, and Mr. Kasin, his chief lieutenant. [Applause.] Mr. Gorman, who brought Higgins to Howard County in 1879, which Higgins aforesaid, with his own hand, forged the registers and poll-book at the polls of one of the precincts of that county. [Applause.] Mr. Kasin puts into the Convention his lieutenants, such as James Bussey, or "Jim," for short, and Frederick Buckheimer, or "Fritz," for brevity [laughter], two of the most noted ruffians in the city, and makes them vice-presidents of a Democratic Convention—men whose sole and only claim to occupy a seat anywhere consists in their ruffianism and their known frauds upon the ballot. [Applause.] Tilden election law? Didn't the Democratic Convention in 1876, after the frauds of 1875, promise us an election law? Didn't they promise us an election law in 1879? And didn't the Baltimore *Sun* say that the Legislature that was elected upon that platform, as full of promise as a mulberry tree is of fruit, was the most corrupt and profligate ever elected in Maryland, and had not redeemed a single pledge?

They met in 1882 with the Tilden election law squarely put before their legislature, and they spurned it from them. They met in 1886. Was not the Reform League election law, based upon the Tilden election law, put in their hands and advocated before their committee? And didn't they trample it beneath their feet? With all this experience, am I to be told that I am still a child and must rely upon their promise of election reform? [Applause.]

You are all good Sunday-school people, I know [laughter], and you have read that story about the Gibeonites that went down to Gilgal to meet Joshua. You see Joshua had had considerable success in that ram's horn arrangement, taking Jericho and all that, and there were a set of fellows called Gibeonites that got to be a little afraid of him. They knew that the heathen in the immediate neighborhood were to be cleared out, and as they lived close by, they thought they would make believe they came from a far country and so get a treaty. So they got themselves up as ambassadors, and, as the Scripture says, "they did work wilyly." Does not that sound like a Second Ward rounder? [Laughter.] And they went and made believe they were ambassadors from a far country, and they put old sacks upon their asses, and wine bottles old and rent and bound up, and old shoes clouted upon their feet, and put old garments upon them, and, as the Scripture says, "*all the bread of their provision was dry and mouldy*." What a picture of the "regular" Democratic organization—[applause]—tramping down to Gilgal, with its wine bottles "old and rent and bound up," with its old shoes clouted about its feet! And for its platform and its promises—is not the "bread of its provision dry and mouldy"? [Laughter and applause.] No, sir; we have been fed with the east wind of broken promises long enough. We have had too many "promises to pay." We decline to accept that sort of currency any longer. They have got to resume specie payment. [Applause.] Moreover, not only have they violated all these, but they do more. They take the very people who commit their frauds and elevate them to office. I have told a little of that story in the public press. Maybe some of you have seen it. I shall not repeat it here. But how am I to believe that a convention will give us election reform when that very convention had in it Dr. Thornton, the supervisor who had once defrauded us; when it had in it delegates sent there by the manipulation of Higgins and Morris Thomas, who came from their Federal appointments to manipulate the primaries; and when that

very convention had in it the men who have been most notorious for years in looting the ballot-boxes of the city?

I believe in party responsibility. I accept the Regular Democratic party platform on that. While I believe the time will come when there will be no State convention that is Republican and none that is Democratic, and no city convention that is Republican and none Democratic; when the State and city politics will be divorced absolutely from national politics, yet it is not here to-day. Taking things, therefore, as I find them, I must believe in party responsibility, as the Democratic platform says. Now, agreeing with them in their doctrine of party responsibility, to what feast am I asked by the regular Democratic convention? What are the good things done by it that are to be the basis of our approval? They point in their platform to the number of good things they have done. I have not examined them. There is a branch of the Johns Hopkins University known as the "microscopic department," and I propose to turn them over to the microscopic department. I have not arrived at the age where I need glasses, but I have not had the early training to give me skill in using the microscope; so whatever good they have done I will turn over to the microscopic department and we will have a report on the subject. But I know one thing—that the crucial question in this State since 1875 has been one, and that has been the subject of election reforms in this city, and the party that has had control since 1875 not only did not reform the abuses, but they lived by the abuses, and they rewarded the men who committed them. [Applause.] The men who committed the frauds of '75, '79, '84 and '86, except those who are incapacitated by their temporary sojourn in the penitentiary, are all holding office at this time. Their appointments, as the reward of election crime, are also matters for which the party is to be responsible. They need no microscope, but are visible to the naked eye, and in discussing the party's responsibility they cannot be ignored. That organization has violated every promise it ever made in its platforms on the subject, and has rewarded the notorious ballot-box stuffers of the State. [Applause.] I therefore can say: "You have been tried long enough; we can try you no longer."

Now, I am a believer in another thing—that the way to reform a party is to reform it with a club. [Laughter.] I do not believe in any rose-water business in politics. You have all read the story, doubtless, of Huckleberry Finn, on the Mississippi. Huckleberry had a very disreputable father, given to all sorts of vice, but especially drunkenness, and a kind-hearted old judge in the temperance movement thought he would reform Huckleberry's father; so he brought him to his house and kept him for a couple of days, to see what he could do towards reforming him. The old man stood it very well for a couple of days, but the third day he got as drunk as an owl, and the old judge, on looking for him, found his carpets in an awful state, and the old man lying with a broken arm under a second story window, out of which he had fallen. The kind-hearted judge said, "There ain't no use talking, the only way to reform that kind is with a shotgun." Now, there is a certain class of fellows of that kind managing the Democratic party, and the only way to reform it is by a shotgun, figuratively speaking.

You probably all read the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER; if you don't, you had better subscribe for it. It is a first class paper, has a good deal of news, and will give you considerable information—you Republicans especially. [Laughter and applause.] There is a little extract in that, from the Scripture, which I know the literary artist never intended should stand separate and apart, and you won't see the point of it. It is the story of Joab and Absalom. Absalom came up to Jerusalem, took up his city residence, and wanted to have an opportunity of seeing the King. Joab had a good deal of influence with that administration, and Absalom desired him to get him access to the King's presence. Absalom spent two years in Jerusalem and never got sight of the King. So he sent over to Joab, as the record goes, to have him send him to the King. Joab would not come, and Absalom sent a second time, and still Joab would not come. Then Absalom said to his servants, "See, there is a field of Joab's near mine, and there is barley in it; set the field on fire." The servants set the barley field on fire, and the record adds, very simply, "Then Joab arose and went unto Absalom." [Laughter.] Now, what we propose to do is to set the regular boss Democratic barley field on fire. [Continued applause and laughter.] Then, I think, they will come to Absalom. [Laughter.] We went down in 1882 and said "Come"; but, like Joab, they did not. We went down in 1886 and said "Come," and they did not come. Now we see they have a barley field, and we propose to set that barley field on fire, and I think they will arise and come to Absalom. [Applause.]

Now, one thing more and I have done. [Cries of "Go on."] You do not expect, and you could not expect (it is well enough to forewarn you at the start), that I should endorse whatever your platform should say upon national issues. I am a Democrat, born in the Democratic faith. You do not expect me to support your national candidates, nor would I. You expect me, as far as I am concerned, to support your ticket, and the Independent Reform Democrats to support it, upon the basis of the State issues you have so clearly presented. [Applause.] Let those candidates—who from personal knowledge as well as from public repute I know—carry out every particle of that platform, and that means that public government is a public trust. [Applause.] You therefore understand that I retain my Democratic faith. Exactly what a Democrat in Maryland means, and what is the Democratic faith here on national issues, I do not know. [Laughter.] I can take two Democratic platforms, drawn in

two succeeding years, and I can show you that upon the tariff subject one is a free-trade platform, and in the next and following year it is a protection platform. [Laughter.] When the Democratic candidate for Comptroller was running for Congress, why, on the subject of tariff, he saw Mr. McComas and went him one better. [Laughter and applause.] In that same year a Democratic candidate for Congress in this city, who is a friend of mine, made a speech in the city in which he said that a free-trader was an ass. [Laughter.] He forgot that the old Democratic war-cry was "Free trade and sailors' rights." And another time a Democratic Congressman was asked two questions on the tariff, but did not have the moral or physical courage to answer. So, I say that exactly what the Democratic faith in this State is on certain issues—the tariff, for instance—I do not know; but I want to say that I am not with you Republicans on certain national issues, and that is one of them.

On another issue of Civil Service Reform I want to say this: that the Democratic platform in this State adopted by the last Convention is directly in the teeth of the Democratic national platform, and violates every single pledge that Mr. Cleveland ever made on the subject of Civil Service reform, diametrically in the teeth of that to which the Democratic party pledged itself in the most solemn manner that a political party can be pledged to carry out a movement. The Democratic party in this State has flung this right into the teeth of the Democratic National party, and the promises made by Mr. Cleveland in his letters, and tramples upon, more contemptuously than any Republican party could, the very principles on which Cleveland was elected, and on which he was pledged, and is pledged, to carry on the Government. Tell me that an organization in which men, never really Democrats, have influence enough to make it discredit the party's platform and oppose its most elementary principles, is an organization that can bind me as a party man! Even as a party man I stamp upon their undemocratic platform; I spit upon it, and spurn it beneath my feet. It violates every principle, every word and every letter of the National Democratic platform upon the same subject. I therefore am loosed from any bonds of party fealty to support such a party. [Loud and continued applause.]

But I want to say something more. I want to say that the Democratic party has now a chance to put Democratic promises into Democratic deeds before the election. Let us see how promises compare with deeds.

Now, mark. They say that they propose the Tilden election law. Now, the keynote of the so-called Tilden election law is found in two things: First, that the supervisors of election, as we term them in this city (that is, the men who choose the judges and clerks), are composed of two Republicans and two Democrats; in other words, they are equally divided between the two parties. That is one. Second, the other striking principle which makes the Tilden election law and Reform League election law automatic in its operation is the fact that not only are Republican judges required to be among the judges and Republican clerks among the clerks—in other words, not only are the parties to be represented among the judges and clerks, but the party organization has the right to place behind the window their challengers to see the glass ballot boxes opened, to stand there with their books to see them when it is opened, and the ballots counted, and stay there during the count.

Now, let us see what the law of Maryland is to-day. That is the keynote of the election law which this "regular" Democratic party say they will give us, with, of course, the modifications applicable to Maryland. [Laughter.] Governor Lloyd has in his hands now the power to appoint three supervisors for the City of Baltimore. He has a chance to put the Democratic promise of the platform into Democratic deed, in the appointment of his supervisors. The Democratic platform says to Governor Lloyd, "We propose to have the Tilden election law, that will compel you to appoint a Republican supervisor of elections." I say, therefore, to Governor Lloyd, "Your party platform of your party convention has said that as a matter of compulsion at the next Legislature they will make you put a Republican on the Board of Supervisors through the medium of the new law which they propose to pass; therefore, accept them at their word; you have the discretion to-day to appoint a Republican supervisor, cap the climax of that promise by the deed of the Democratic Governor and give us one Republican supervisor upon the board of three." [Applause.] Was ever so shameless a pretense put forward? Look at it. The Democratic organization is so dishonest that it will not allow the Republicans a single supervisor to look after the fairness of elections. It can do it at any time, and its not doing it is the source of great corruption acknowledged. The leaders of that party actually have the assurance to say, "We will not give you a supervisor, as we ought to, but we will pass a law to make ourselves do it!" If they will not give the supervisor they will not pass the law. A man gets honest by not stealing, not by passing laws to make himself stop.

Take another evidence. The judges of election in this city and the clerks of election, and the mode of conducting elections, are as absolutely under the control of the Police Commissioners of this city as the subjects of Russia are under the control of the Czar. [Applause.] It is within their power, and it is made their duty, to take every safeguard for an honest count and fair elections free from fraud and violence. The law, as it stands to-day, vests in the board of Democratic Police Commissioners the power to take every safeguard for an honest count that any law, Tilden election law, Reform League election law, or any other law can give. The Democratic party has said, "We propose by a new law to give you watchers be-

hind the windows." Let the Democratic party come up with Democratic deed and say to its Democratic Police Commissioners, "Our party convention said there should be watchers; our party platform has pledged us to make the putting of watchers compulsory; we have the discretion now—no, it is not the discretion, it is made our duty to take these safeguards; our party platforms say they will be put there by compulsion, let us now put them there as a matter of discretion." [Applause.] Now, if they really meant to give us a fair election, here it is right in their power. Stop making promises to legislate yourselves into honesty and adopt the simpler course of just being honest. That will be enough for us. But no; what we find is the same old bottles, rent-sack-clouted-shoe-mouldy-bread outfit of promises that have come a long way.

Now, one thing more. As I say, those of us who are Democrats have absolutely got tired of holding on to these fellows. I am not going to do it any more. Why, we have just been like Solomon's Wisdom; I do not mean as wise. We have been "crying aloud in the streets; lifting up our voice in the city; we have cried aloud in the chief places of concourse, in the ways, at the openings of the gates"; but they have treated us exactly as she was treated by the scorners. Now, what will we do? Just as she did. We will say: "Because we have called, and you have refused; because we have stretched out our hands, and no man regarded; we will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh."

Now, when the Republican party has planted itself on the sound platform of Civil Service Reform and annual registration [applause], with men like Walter B. Brooks, Francis Miller and Mr. Dixon [applause]; when we find we can have clean, sweet and honest government; then, sir, we will do as Solomon's Wisdom did—we will "laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh." [Continued applause.]

Now, I have done. [Cries of "Go on! Go on!"] I have not pretended to argue the questions as I will. I want to say, and say again, that my voice, my pen and my vote are at the service of Walter B. Brooks for Governor of the State. [Continued applause.] I want to say more—that I propose, before this campaign is through, to give you as interesting a set of political biographies as ever came out of any calendar. [Applause.] And, this time, I am not going to bankrupt myself by paying for them. [Laughter.] I have talked with many Independents, and they think like I do. We have gotten tired. We believe in Civil Service Reform, and all we ask the Republicans to do next is to nominate for Mayor of this city a man like D. L. Bartlett or Major Alexander Shaw. [Long and continued applause, and a voice, "We'll do it."]

Now, do not permit yourselves to be scared by the cry of fraud. Undoubtedly, they will try it; but we have had a little machine going here, called the Reform League, which has got some ten of their fine fellows in the penitentiary. [Applause.] It has got a couple of them sent there for a long time for murder, and a number of others convicted, but whose cases are pending in the Court of Appeals, which will probably decide in favor of the State. We have got a number of the rest of them on their way to glory—that is, to indictment. [Applause.] And we have got our grip on others of the scoundrelly registers, and if they don't strike off the votes, every one of them will go before a grand jury. [Applause.]

Moreover, we are not going to have any more monkey business about the supervisors. The first scoundrelly appointment—the first attempt at doing things in the dark—we will be upon it. They have had plenty of warning in the case of Thornton and Hudgins, Magers and Boyd, and that body we propose to watch; and the eye of the Reform League will be upon their outgoings and their incomings, upon their uprisings and their downittings, from sunrise to sunset, and in the darkness of the night. [Applause.] We propose, moreover, to place an organized and trained band of men with poll-books in front of the window; we propose to demand of the Police Commissioners of this city and the Supervisors that they comply with the Democratic platform, and permit us to put watchers behind the windows [applause], and if there is the slightest hesitancy, then we propose to give a police biography that will astonish the world. We mean what we say. We will have trained men at the window who know the men who vote, and to put their names down and record them as they vote, and when the poll-window is closed on the night of election, the name and number of every person who voted will be known, and the juggling of the ballot box and the voters therein will no longer take place. It costs time, energy and money, and it is worth time and energy to restore to this fair city of ours the common right of self-government. [Applause.] I place myself, therefore, upon the single and sole issue of the campaign, which is the right of this commonwealth to the same rights as other American commonwealths have. I propose to do all I can to take the method of reform that Absalom did, and burn the barley fields, or the Huckleberry Finn plan of the shotgun. [Applause.] That just reminds me. You know the Good Book says there is a certain kind of devil that could not be gotten out except by fasting and praying. I am satisfied about one thing; that is, that had not the slightest reference to the ordinary political devil. If it had, it was written 1800 years ago, and had application to Jewish politics. It does not to Baltimore. Fasting and prayer have nothing to do with them. It is the penitentiary, the indictment and the rope.

We independents propose to give you enthusiasm, vigor and honesty of purpose on your State issues—with that we ought to sweep down the 6700 majority which Cleveland received. To-day,

in one ward there are 600 honest Democrats pledged to support the Republican ticket. [Loud and continued applause.] Now do your work in the counties; see to your registration; see to getting out your votes, and let us independents take charge of the literary bureaus. If we do not sweep these people from the seats of the governmental table at which they have fed, then I am no true prophet. [Loud applause.]

COLLECTOR SALTONSTALL'S BOLD WORDS.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

"BOSTON, Sept. 1.—There is big excitement in political circles here over the publication of a dispatch from Washington, which first appeared in the Baltimore Sun, referring to the refusal of Boston's customs collector, Saltonstall, to give information to a Democratic committee about his clerical force, and the comments of Civil Service Commissioners Lyman and Oberly on his action. In conversation on the subject to-day Collector Saltonstall says: 'I refused the information because I thought it was desired to serve partisan ends. The question of the number of removals I have made I have answered to a great many people, but when the question came in the spirit of a demand from a political party I refused to answer it because it was my duty as a public officer, and not from any whim. If the Civil Service Law was designed for any purpose, it intended to remove public officers from the control of local politicians. If, by any chance, that law should be repealed, owing to any unfortunate change in public sentiment, and the Custom House should be remanded to the position of a political machine, then, without doubt, I should feel compelled by my own convictions to resign. Public opinion has changed greatly within the past few years, and the trend is surely toward a reform of the civil service. That feeling is growing rapidly; and even if there were no such law, the wholesale removal of subordinate officers in the Custom House would hardly be tolerated to-day as it was formerly. If I can conduct the office to the best advantage of the Government, and at the same time raise it to the position it should occupy under the reform law, I shall consider that I have been of some service in my day and generation. I consider that the very existence of this republic depends upon this or a better law. It has its faults and can be improved. On the whole, however, it is an admirable statute, and I have so found it in all its workings. I have drawn hardly a single man from the list but who has proven eminently suitable for the position to which he was appointed. The party that succeeds in carrying out and making permanent a thorough reform of the civil service, and redeeming the country from the spoils system, should and will, in my estimation, receive the gratitude of posterity, and it is with this view that I desire this great glory for my party. Moreover, I believe it is upon this issue that the next Presidential election will be decided, and the party which the people believe will be truest to this reform will succeed. When I heard that the Democratic committee were to visit my office, I put on my armor and was fully prepared to meet them.'

"Collector Saltonstall's opinion, as expressed above, has caused a great deal of sharp comment from the Democrats, who consider themselves track-horses, and a great deal of interest is felt as to how the controversy will terminate. The general opinion, not only among the Democrats, but among Mugwumps, is the less Collector Saltonstall has to say about the matter for publication the better it will be for the Democratic candidate for Governor in the next November election. The Collector is looked upon as a Mugwump appointee, and the Democrats are very sore that an out-and-out party man of their own stamp should not be in his place."

THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS.

[From the Hagerstown Mail (Dem.).]

We think that some of our Democratic contemporaries are not acting as wisely as they should in denouncing Mr. Cowen in the severe manner they do; or prudently in

depreciating the influence he and his associates may exert in the coming election. For ourselves, we view with serious alarm the loss of such men as Messrs. Cowen, Wallis, Keyser, Marshall, and others like them from our party ranks, even upon State issues. It is not safe for us to drive from us such men, and with the exultant and confident terms in which it is done. The canvass has not yet fairly begun, and when these gentlemen of character and intellect shall appear before the people there is no telling what effect it may have upon the quiet vote of the party.

These people who are so quick and so severe in denouncing Messrs. Cowen, Wallis, and their associates seem to think that the nomination of a Republican ticket will secure a solid party vote, and thus place our ticket out of all fear of danger. But these gentlemen should remember that in the very strongest straight hand-to-hand contest with the Republican party in 1884, Mr. Cleveland, with the united strength of the Democratic party behind him, only had a majority of 6704 over Mr. Blaine in the Democratic city of Baltimore, which should, in such a clean contest, be good for 10,000 majority. Where did this vote come from that reduced our Democratic majority in the city? It came from the unobserved and quiet voters, and which, when counted, caused a surprise to every one. And may not it be so again, but only to a greater extent?

It seems to us that the attitude of Messrs. Cowen, Wallis, and others with them, is not fairly appreciated by our contemporaries. Not that we are to justify the present course pursued by these gentlemen; but it should be remembered that these gentlemen, impressed by the frauds committed at our elections in Baltimore, formed an association, called the Reform League, with but one object in view—the reformation of our city elections. This association is distinct from any party, and having for its sole object this reformation, have determined to act upon State matters in the manner they think most certain to obtain the desired results. They have been zealous in their efforts to expose frauds at elections and in formulating a law something similar to the Tilden law governing elections in New York, and which they pressed upon the last Legislature to pass, and propose to lay before the next Legislature—the last one having failed to do anything toward correcting this great and acknowledged abuse.

They proclaim themselves still Democrats upon National issues and do not propose to leave or be driven out of the party by anything said against them. How much it is to be deplored that the last Legislature did not pass a good registration and election law! It is publicly admitted by all that this is necessary to be done in order to correct gross abuses. Why so just and so fair a thing was not done must be surprising to ordinary men not experienced in the mysteries of selfish politics. But if done, this whole present trouble and discontent would have been averted and the coming election would have seen a united and contented Democratic party.

THE LESSON OF THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

[From Frederick Union (Dem.).]

Mr. Cowen, it seems, supports the Republican nominees because he cannot trust the Democratic managers to carry out their promises. He wants free and fair elections, general and primary—general, for the benefit of the State at large; primary, for the sake of the integrity of the Democratic party. "I am a Democrat," he says, in the same connection, "and am constant in the faith; you must not expect that I shall endorse whatever your platform may say on national issues. You cannot expect me to support your national candidates. I shall retain my Democratic faith." Thus, with this defection of Mr. Cowen, and the large body of Democrats who will act with him, for the second time, within twelve years, is the success of our party rendered doubtful. Why? Is it because Democratic principles have lost their potency? Is it because Democrats are less loyal to their party faith; or that Republican principles are one whit less objectionable to them now than they have always been? Not at all; but because Mr. Gorman, and the bad men with whom he has surrounded himself, have so corrupted the methods of the party, and proved so utterly unreliable in their promises on all subjects, public and private, that all people not hopelessly blinded by prejudice have lost confidence in their honesty and sincerity. They don't believe a word they say.

It was to avert this threatened crisis in our party affairs that some of the very best party men, in our own county and throughout the State, have been striving with all their might and by every fair and honorable means within their power. Frauds on the registration, frauds on the ballot box, frauds on party friends at the primaries—all have been laid bare to the gaze of the world. The authors of these frauds have been pointed out and their guilt proved, and some of their tools sent to the penitentiary. To all this there has been but one answer—"the same old crowd, the same old charges"—whilst, in some instances, those who sought to redeem their party have been vilified and abused and left out of its councils.

The Democrats whom Mr. Cowen represents, in the course which he has chosen for himself, despair of reform within the party under its present management, and have come to the conclusion that the only way to reform is with a club. What we deprecate and lament is the existence of such a condition of mismanagement within our party as justifies honorable gentlemen, to themselves, in the adoption of such radical remedies. We may laugh at such Democrats if we will; we may sneer at them if we choose; we may hurl epithets at their devoted heads as hot and as red as lightning, but the fact still remains that in Democratic Maryland, with a legitimate majority of twenty thousand, the success of the party is rendered doubtful by the criminal conduct of its managers.

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THE

Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. III. — No. 10.

BALTIMORE, OCTOBER, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

Lombard Investment Company.

An Act in addition to and in amendment of an Act relating to Trust and Investment Companies and enlarging the powers of the Bank Commissioners.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

SECTION 1. Every corporation heretofore or hereafter organized under the laws of this State, whether by special charter or otherwise, which has power to and does sell or negotiate its own choses in action, or sell, guarantee or negotiate the choses in action of other persons or corporations, as investments or as a business, shall be under the supervision of the bank commissioners of this State, and subject in that connection to all the laws relating to the examination and report of banks, savings banks, and trust companies. Said commissioners, in an annual report of these corporations to the Governor of this State, shall clearly describe the various classes of assets and liabilities of each and state any special provision which has been made for the payment of such liabilities.

Approved May 18, 1887.

In compliance with an act of the Legislature of Connecticut placing companies dealing in Western mortgages under the control of the Connecticut Savings Bank Commissioners, the LOMBARD INVESTMENT COMPANY renders the following statement, audited by A. B. Mygatt, ex-National Bank Examiner for Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Statement at the close of business June 25, 1887:

RESOURCES.	LIABILITIES.
Mortgages and bills receivable.....\$1,969,086 05	Capital fully paid.....\$1,000,000 00
Overdrafts.....1,114 92	Reserve.....150,000 00
Expenses and taxes paid.....107,545 38	Surplus.....100,000 00
English consols and Pennsylvania R. R. sinking fund, sterling gold bonds, at par.....8,700 00	Undivided profits.....290,873 56
U. S. Government 4 per cent. and 4½ per cent. bonds, at par.....45,000 00	Debentures.....492,350 00
Union Pacific R. R. first mortgage 6 per cent. bonds, at par.....12,000 00	Interest paid by borrowers, awaiting presentation of coupons.....42,894 93
Boston, Concord and Montreal 7 per cents., at par.....5,000 00	Loaning funds, awaiting investment in Lombard Investment Company securities, account English and American clients.....462,521 15
Other stocks and bonds.....49,545 85	
Cash with company's bankers:	
Martin & Co., London; Maverick National Bank, Boston; National	
Broadway Bank, New York; Chase National Bank, New York; Central	
National Bank, Philadelphia, and First National Bank, Kansas City..	
	\$2,538,439 64

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

I hereby certify that having examined the books of the Lombard Investment Company, the above statement is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

A. B. MYGATT,
Deputy Examiner appointed by the Board of Bank Commissioners
of the State of Connecticut.

In his report to the Bank Commissioners Mr. Mygatt says:

I visited Boston and Kansas City, and made a careful examination of the affairs of said company at the request of its officers, and also in the official capacity of Deputy Bank Commissioner, under the Act passed by the last Legislature of Connecticut, relating to Trust and Investment Companies doing business in that State.

The mortgage loans, which constitute the principal portion of the resources, I regard as well secured, and ample security, in charge of the trustees, is also provided for the debenture bonds. The loans are on farms and city properties, on valuations not to exceed forty per cent., and averaging not over thirty per cent., and are made and determined by careful and experienced examiners.

The system, methods, and general conduct of the extensive business of the company in the several departments merit special commendation. The company has for its principal officers and managers men of high financial standing and character, and is entitled to the continued confidence of its customers and investors. A. B. MYGATT.

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The American Loan and Trust Company of New York, which has been selected as trustee, as above stated, is one of the strongest corporations in the State. The paid-up capital is one million of dollars. The Board of Directors is composed of gentlemen of large wealth and high financial ability, among whom are Wm. B. Dinsmore, President of Adams Express Company; Geo. H. Potts, President of National Park Bank; Elias Lewis, Jr., President of Brooklyn Bank, and others.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. III.—No. 10.

BALTIMORE, OCTOBER, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

NAVAL warfare promises to become intensely disagreeable for all active participants, if the published accounts of the trial of Lieutenant Zalinski's dynamite gun do not exaggerate its destructive capacities. Is it not "terrible to the imagination" (to quote, for the last time, from Mr. Hodges) to be told of an engine of war that can with unerring accuracy drop six hundred pounds of explosive gelatine on the deck of a vessel a couple of miles away, and "reduce it," to quote from the fervid language of the newspaper report, "to fragments suitable for small kindling wood"? But we seriously doubt whether the rotten and worthless United States schooner "Silliman," which was selected for the lieutenant's target, and which was "totally disabled and filled with water" by his first shot, felt the second terrible bombshell explode in its vitals with widely different feelings, if it had any, from those experienced by the *Baltimore Sun* when Mr. John K. Cowen's seven column solid brevier letter landed plump in its middle parts. To the public senses the general effect of the two explosions was quite similar. In both cases the aim was so true and the explosion so terrific that when the smoke cleared away there was absolutely nothing left to aim another shot at, though probably disjointed fragments of the unsound political timbers of the *Sun*, as well as those of the lieutenant's target, will still serve their only useful purpose—to *kindle fires with!*

OUR crowded columns will not admit of the republication of more than the concluding part of Mr. Cowen's splendid effort; more especially since, through its publication in both of the daily newspapers, it has already been laid before most of our readers. It is needless to say that its utterances have found an immediate response in the hearts of all honest men of all shades of political opinion and party preference. In what walks of life have honest men forgotten to despise the character which Mr. Cowen's exposures have fastened upon the *Sun*? What shall we say of a prosperous and wealthy newspaper, willing to sell its own advertising columns for the publication of specific and overwhelming proofs of its own infamy? What shall we say—what are decent people everywhere saying—of a great public journal which for a few hundred dollars will put its own type-setters and printing presses to work to prove beyond controversy to its readers that "its purposes are dishonest"; that its "pretenses are transparent"; that its personal attacks are "most malicious, false and treacherous"; that it "has been selfish and time-serving always"; that its "protest is never heard unless some perquisite or other is being taken from it"; that it "is the apologist of fraud and murder"; that it is taking "the hire of a harlot and the price of a dog" for its corrupt services; that it is hiding behind "a refuge of lies," etc., etc.! Is the day far distant when the *Sun* shall learn the true meaning of the great prophet's warning that "a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches," and that although its head may be "of fine gold," "its breast and arms of silver" and "its belly of brass," if its feet are of clay it may yet become "like the chaff of the summer threshing floors"?

IN our July issue we expressed the opinion that the National Republican party was pursuing a suicidal course "in permitting its managers to obscure the living issue of administrative reform by shouting out its old party war cries which men have ceased to heed." And in speaking of Senator Sherman's efforts to manufacture presidential capital out of "bloody shirt" material, we said: "The members of a party who are bitter and unforgiving enough to be influenced by such criminal nonsense, whether spoken from a Northern or Southern standpoint, require no such spur to party loyalty; while the revival of so palpably dishonest and defunct an issue is bound still further to alienate the intelligent and progressive voter, to whose manly and determined stand against it the Republican party largely owes its last defeat." In the light of these utterances it is hardly necessary for us now to express our opinion of the language employed by Governor Foraker and General Tuttle in criticising the President of the United States for suggesting the return of the Confederate battle-flags. If the President had meditated the darkest treason—an opinion confined to a few small demagogues and fools—impeachment, and not insulting epithets, would have been the remedy. But really few fair men can think the President's act was anything *worse* than an innocent blunder made with a generous intent. Nor ought it to be necessary for us to express our contempt for the spiteful and silly conduct of the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic which refused to march under the Cleveland banner at Pittsburg, for the peculiarly indefensible reason that the President possessed the courage and patriotism to veto the Pauper Pension Bill. We are glad to believe that the members of our Maryland posts of this organization are incapable of such unmanly and unpatriotic conduct.

FOR precisely the same reasons that make us emphatically condemn the "bloody shirt" as a political argument, we look with repugnance and disgust upon the exhibition of its reverse side to which we are being treated in Maryland by some unscrupulous politicians. As the earnestness and bravery of the Southern soldiers during the Civil War is the best proof that they have loyally accepted its result, so the present conduct of the most illustrious among them here makes absolutely ludicrous the attempt of those they left at home, and found there still when they came back, to revive the extinct passions of the war. Truly, it is the Home Guard that never surrenders: its members are always the last to learn the duties and the last to forget the animosities of a state of war. We firmly believe, as we most earnestly hope, that the time has passed when memories of the war can be successfully appealed to on either side for merely political advantage. It is at least a pleasant evidence of it that the brave men who then fought and suffered on both sides have not taught their children the lesson of fratricidal hatred and distrust, and they themselves have been the first to unlearn it. If General Trimble, who left one leg on the field of battle in the cause of the Confederacy; Colonel Marshall, "the trusted friend and adviser of General Lee"; General Andrews, whose only fault as a soldier, if he had any, was his too great willingness to face danger and death, still scarred with his many wounds, and a host of other brave

Confederate officers from Maryland, are ready to heartily support the Republican ticket, cannot Mr. Whyte, Mr. Carter and Mr. Poe, who, if they left the State, did so not to meet danger, but to escape it, and Mr. Gorman, who, during the whole war, received a salary as a Federal official, afford to do the same?

MR. WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE opened the campaign for the Ring at Towson last week, and may be presumed to have outlined the issues upon which the Ring desires that the pending campaign shall be fought. Briefly stated they are: 1. That the success of the national Democratic party in 1888 will be imperilled if Gorman, Rasin, Slater, Morrison, and others are driven by popular indignation from the management of a party which they have corrupted and degraded. 2. That the defeat of these political vandals would be a condemnation of President Cleveland, because he has allied himself with them; and 3. That the conduct of the Republican politicians during and immediately after the war has proved the party unfit to control the government of the State again. Of the first of these issues we have spoken at length in our leading article, and to the last we have briefly alluded above. In regard to President Cleveland as an issue, we must say with frankness that if, as a matter of fact, President Cleveland's alliance with the corrupt faction of the Democratic party is so close that he would be involved in its destruction, and that it would be out of the question for him to unite himself with the better and cleaner management of the party which the defeat of the Ring would ensure, he would deserve to share the fate of other political aspirants who have found too late that reliance upon corrupt men is a most insecure one. But is it likely that as a consequence of their defeat President Cleveland would have to follow Mr. "Fritz" Buchheimer and Mr. "Bud" Kittingham and Mr. "Jim" Busey to the private seclusion of their saloons and gambling dens? On the contrary, is not the sole important opposition to President Cleveland in this State, and much of the opposition to him elsewhere, on account of his apparent support of the despicable faction controlling the Democratic party in Maryland? Is not the re-election of President Cleveland in 1888, with the prospect of the continuance of this alliance, one thing, and his re-election when the defeat of the Ring has made the alliance impossible quite another for good citizens everywhere?

In this number Mr. Whyte will find ample proofs of the correctness of his diagnosis that "the new constitution game won't work." Elsewhere we print the address on the subject adopted by the citizens of Washington County in a mass meeting held recently at Hagerstown, "irrespective of party." We also reprint from the *Frederick Union*, a pronounced Democratic organ of great weight, a sensible and vigorous discussion of the reasons why a convention should not be called. The same views have been expressed with equal frankness by the *Hagerstown Mail*, the *Maryland Journal*, and other newspapers of well known Democratic opinions. Briefly stated, the reasons against a constitutional convention at present are these: 1. A convention organized by the present dominant faction of the Democratic party would certainly be subject to and controlled by corrupt influences. 2. It is a matter of public notoriety, not denied by the managers, that among their corrupt purposes in calling the convention is to legislate out of office the present upright and incorruptible Supreme Bench of Baltimore City and the independent members of the Court of Appeals. 3. Another avowed

object is the sale of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to the West Virginia Railroad Company, of which Senator Gorman is a director and Mr. Whyte the solicitor. 4. The expenses connected with the convention and the three elections made necessary by it would amount to nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars, which would require additional taxation or a new public debt. 5. The admitted defects in the tax and registration laws are frivolous pretexts, and are due entirely to the corrupt and bungling legislation of the Ring of which they are the subject, and not to defects in the constitution. 6. The provisions for the amendment of the constitution in an inexpensive and satisfactory way are ample, and if there are really constitutional defects which ought to be altered, amendment offers all reasonable opportunities for such alterations. 7. While our election and registration laws are in so imperfect a condition it will be impossible to get at the real will of the people, and the "bosses" by frauds in Baltimore City will be able to defeat that will and control the several elections for their own corrupt purposes; and 9. The unsettlement of various interests which would follow upon the entire upturning of the State government and the practical dismissal of every officer in it, taken in connection with the excitement and unnecessary disturbance of three additional elections in one year, is a disaster to be avoided if possible.

BUT when Mr. Whyte came to discuss the living issues of the campaign he found himself involved in a painful predicament from which extrication is absolutely impossible. "*The defects of the registration system and the imperfections of the election laws no man will deny*," he says. The declaration of the State Convention from which he received his nomination is that "it is the sense of this convention that the present laws of registration . . . are as nearly complete and accurate as they can be made under the present organic law, and the Democratic party now engages that in a revision of the constitution it will use its best efforts to have embraced in its provisions the requirement . . . of an annual registration of voters in cities whose inhabitants number ten thousand and upwards." Nothing whatever is said about the other grave defects of the present registration law, such as the absence of minority representation, etc. Mr. Whyte, sharing, as he seems to, the terror felt by the Ring lest the popular opposition to a new constitution may seriously imperil the Democratic chances, which of course include his own, says: "They [the Republicans] recently declared in their convention against the calling of a constitutional convention, and thus made that an issue within their own party. *The Democratic convention had made no declaration on that subject, but left the whole matter to the unbiased decision of the citizens.*" Is not the declaration which we have quoted from the Democratic platform "*a declaration on that subject*"? If not, what can it mean? Mr. Whyte, with everybody else, admits that fair elections are impossible without annual registration in Baltimore City. The Democratic candidate for Governor says that "annual registration in Baltimore City is desirable and necessary for *protection against fraudulent voting*," and in the same breath says that we must have a new constitution before a law providing for such registrations shall be "practicable." Now Mr. Whyte says that the Democratic party does not make the new convention an "issue." What possible hope, therefore, can any sensible man have of fair elections through the Democratic party? The present law is a corrupt one, that is admitted.

It cannot be made an honest one without a new constitution; that is the platform pretense of the Democratic party in Maryland upon which they demand the suffrages of the people. But we are not to have a constitutional convention! The people are opposed to it, and the Democracy sees it so plainly that it now says, through Mr. Whyte, that it will not press the issue!

THE editor of this journal, since its first publication three years ago, has steadily and studiously avoided any personal issue which the publication of his official connection with it might raise. As a matter of fact, the personal oversight of its editorial utterances by a committee of the Association of which it is the organ, and the splendid forces back of the editor, to which the success of the paper is entirely due, absolutely rebut any such *ad hominem* argument. But an occasion seems to have arisen when an exception to the rule will serve the editor's purpose better than the rule itself. The following letter, which was published in the *Baltimore Morning Herald* of September 28th, explains itself:

To the Editor of the Morning Herald:

Sir:—In your issue of to-day "a leading Democrat, who is a 'Regular' of the stalwart type" (I quote your words), charges that several of the names signed to the letter addressed by "Independent Democrats" to Mr. Bartlett are those of Republicans, and among the names mentioned in that category is my own. My political views are of so little importance to the public that it would never occur to me to correct your anonymous informant (who could have easily learned my real views from myself or my friends) if his statement did not involve, as it seems to me, a deliberate charge of a degree of bad faith on my part of which I should be sorry indeed to be guilty. As a matter of fact, my vote for Mr. Bartlett will be only the second vote which I have ever cast for a "straightout" nominee of the Republican party—national, State or municipal—in my nine years' experience as a qualified voter. While I reserve to myself a discretion and freedom from partisan dictation which no man surrenders; other things being equal, I have always voted, and expect in the future to vote, with the Democratic party, simply because it is my deliberate opinion at present, which I have formed after what seems to me a reasonably thorough examination, that the Democratic party entertains, certainly in *theory* and largely in *practice*, the views of great public questions which I believe to be wise and safe ones. Whatever may be its shortcomings and inconsistencies, its *tendencies* are toward the radical reform of the tariff, the strict construction of the Constitution and the preservation of State lines, and a sympathy with and confidence in the people. If I ever cease to be a Democrat it will be because I believe some other party more faithfully observes these principles of government, or because the Democratic party willfully repudiates Civil Service Reform through the competitive system, which I regard as an issue second in importance to none. I have, it is true, no connection whatever with the so-called Democratic management in Maryland, and heartily desire its defeat, simply because it endorses and supports opinions which I believe to be dangerous, false and corrupt. Hereafter, when you think it necessary to print statements in regard to me, do me the courtesy to apply for information to

Yours very truly,

FRANCIS K. CAREY.

Perhaps the letter would have better expressed its author's opinion, which he shares with all friends of Civil Service Reform, if it had pronounced that issue a paramount and fundamental one rather than of only equal importance with others. While the spoils system prevails, of what avail are political doctrines? Is not their very discussion in law-making bodies made a farce by the patronage trade? Will not real statesmanship, that has at heart true political principles, remain a thing of the past until the foundation for its return is laid in administrative reform?

CAN the political corruptionists who are now trailing the banner of Democracy in Maryland make a single honest claim to Democratic support? Is it Democratic to deny a free ballot to the people? Is it Democratic to close the doors of public office in the faces of men for no better reason than that they will not bend their necks, pledge their obedience and pay a blackmail tribute to an unlawful band of conspirators? Is it Democratic to publicly declare in favor of a protective tariff? And, worse than all, is it possible for an attempt to influence a State election, by pointing to its possible effect upon a national contest a year away, to proceed from Democratic sources? Does Mr. Whyte, for example, in his pleas of confession and avoidance to the charge of fraud, pretend to speak from a Democratic standpoint when he urges Democrats to go to the support of the Ring because the degradation of a sovereign State is a matter of secondary importance to the election of a Democratic president in 1888? Where is the Democratic doctrine of States' Rights? When before have Democrats contended that the integrity of a State, the dignity and decency of local State government, and the protection of private rights and the security of personal liberty were matters to be subordinated to—*anything*? We are speaking as though Mr. Whyte could support his pleas by an affidavit that they were "true and bona fide"; doubtless he can say with truth that "he is advised by counsel to file the same." But what has he to say to the fact that the leading Democratic newspapers in the United States, among them the *New York World*, the *Boston Post*, and the *Philadelphia Record*, have not concealed their hope that the Ring will be defeated in Maryland, and that the independent organs whose support elected President Cleveland in 1884 have with one voice declared that the Maryland situation must be accounted for before the Democratic party can claim again the independent vote? Has not Maryland furnished more reasons for the defeat of the Democratic party in 1888 than all the rest of the States put together? and is it not everywhere heard outside of Maryland that our corruptionists have long enough held up the National Democratic party to an undeserved contempt at the hands of its enemies? The day that the true Democracy of Maryland lashes the authors of its degradation from its presence will be a white one for the party throughout the length and breadth of the land.

WE always supposed that the committee appointed by the late Democratic Convention to prepare a new election law for the State would simply illustrate once again the ease with which some very respectable gentlemen, under very untrustworthy guidance, could be made to play the part of decoys for the sportsmen in politics who wish to inveigle the unwary into a dangerous proximity, but we did not expect the justice of our views to be verified *before* the election. The following paragraph from the *Sun*, however, ought to satisfy any one:

NEW ELECTION LAWS.

The Democratic State Convention, at its last meeting, appointed several gentlemen a committee to prepare new election laws for this State modeled upon the election statutes of New York. The Legislature, in 1886, authorized Mr. John Prentiss Poe, of this city, to submit to the next General Assembly a code of public general and public local laws, including the laws of that session, prepared upon the general plan of the Code of 1860, and directed Mr. Poe to submit also to that body such amendments of the several articles and sections of the Code, so prepared, as he might deem desirable. It is learned that there has been no meeting of the committee appointed

by the Democratic State Convention, but that some of its members took occasion, immediately after its adjournment, to inquire whether Mr. Poe proposed to include complete amendments of the election laws among those which he would submit to the General Assembly.

When it was learned that he entertained such purpose, there was a feeling, which it is quite certain will be general in the committee appointed by the Democratic State Convention, that there will be no need for action on the part of that committee. It was thought that no one except the gentleman who had the new Code in charge could well adjust proposed changes to the new form of the Code, and that his skill and care, aided by the labors of the Convention, which the Court of Appeals, acting under the provisions of the Act of 1886, has already appointed to supervise his work, would be sufficient to enable the General Assembly of 1888 to act wisely upon all necessary revisions of our election laws.

The italics, of course, are ours. To appreciate the eminent fitness of Mr. Poe for the work of preparing an election law which will render frauds in the future impossible, it is enough to remember that he was the senior counsel of Messrs. Magers, Hudgins and Boyd—our late supervisors—and that it was presumably under his advice that they acted in destroying most of their records, “by,” as they said, “the advice of counsel.” We agree with the committee that he can give us an election law satisfactory to Messrs. Gorman and Rasin and worthy of the Democratic Convention, and that to effect the ends for which they were appointed “there will be no need for action on the part of the committee.”

THE TRUE ISSUES AND THE FALSE.

WHEN we announced our determination, in September, to support the Republican State ticket “with all our might,” we had carefully and thoroughly considered the whole political situation and had no misgiving whatever as to the duty of this journal in the crisis. Everything that has since occurred has added strength to our convictions and heightened our sense of the obligation which is on us to maintain and enforce them. Indeed, the Ring organization in this city—whether recklessly or blindly it is difficult to say—has been constantly and almost systematically engaged in confirming, by actual and shameless demonstration, the truth of every serious impeachment which has justified the indignant uprising of Democratic independence. The wretched pretense, that the citizens who see in the election of the Republican candidates the only hope of securing the purity and freedom of the ballot which has been left to them by the prostitution of their own party organization, have “gone over to the Republicans,” has been rendered so conspicuously ludicrous by the number, character and antecedents of the Democrats who have united in the movement, that it has practically been carried—as our business friends would put it—to profit and loss already. We shall doubtless hear of it, and a good deal of it, and of “niggers” and the like, besides, when the canvass shall have waxed warmer and fouler, and when “the life of the party” shall have made its biennial appearance on the stage, to be saved, with the old stock company of officeholders and officehunters shrieking around it. But the time has come when all that sort of fraudulent and canting nonsense has ceased to be effective, even in the slums, from which it is an echo. The public interests at stake are altogether too plain and far too precious to be merged in any considerations less weighty than themselves. So long as our elections are fraudulent and our votes are dishonestly counted, it is the sheerest waste of time for us to discuss party differences, here in Maryland. It is idle to submit mere party questions to the people, so long as we

know that the will of the people is not permitted to decide them. What matters it who has the majority, so long as the majority is cheated of its voice and victory? What interest can any honest man, of any party or opinion, have, by possibility, in any struggle for the ascendancy of his principles, through the ballot-box—Democrat, Republican, Labor candidate, or Prohibitionist—until the answer of the ballot-box shall first have ceased to be a lie? Separated as they may be on all other subjects, on the question of an honest vote and count the people of all parties stand side by side as one, with common interests, convictions and duties, into which no difference can enter. The citizens of Maryland have therefore awakened at last to the necessity of clearing the track before they enter on the race. They are schooling themselves, all around us, to lay aside their quarrels upon party questions, until they shall have rescued, by joint effort, from the hands of the spoilers, that integrity and freedom of the suffrage without which party is nothing but a name and form, and opinion is dumb and helpless.

The appeal of the Bosses to the Independent members of the Democratic party to “rally” to the support of the Ring nominations, is founded by the *Sun*, their organ, on two pretexts only—both false and both ridiculous, as might have been expected. They both involve the impudent asseveration that the Reformers have already attained all the results for which they have contended, and that all reasonable cause of complaint is therefore at an end! This extraordinary proposition takes, as we have said, two shapes. First: The *Sun* assures us that “*the result for which real reformers have so long struggled has been achieved*—when both parties have been induced to nominate excellent men for the offices to be filled at the next election.” Secondly: The *Sun* insists that “*the only demand made upon the Democratic party, prior to the meeting of its Convention, was, that it should take steps to reform the registration and election laws,*” and the Convention having “*embodied in its platform a resolution pledging the party in unequivocal terms to the adoption of such measures as will accomplish all that is needed, then it follows that the arguments addressed to Democrats based on abuses or frauds which occurred in the past are entirely irrelevant, and ought not to weigh in determining the political course of any one who professes to belong to that party*”! As to the irreverent idea, which the *Sun* admits to be floating in the air, “that the declaration contained in the platform is insincere,” the *Sun* protests—which, of course, settles it—that “no honest and intelligent Democrat ought to entertain this opinion.” Summing up the matter, therefore, the position of the Reformers is simply this—if the *Sun* is to be believed. They have compelled the nomination of excellent men by both sides, which was what they were fighting for, and “the party”—having promised to do for them “all that is needed” when the Legislature meets—has, by so promising, entirely cleansed itself of its past iniquities, got altogether rid of its bad record, closed the mouth of complaint, and made it everybody’s duty to vote the ticket and be happy.

These wonderful statements and propositions, which would really be childish in a kindergarten, are such a web of falsehood and perversion—such a mess of dishonest smartness and small sophistry—that it would be impossible to analyze and expose them, as they deserve, without a waste of space for which we have better use. There is enough, however, on their face, to give them a certificate of character, as we shall proceed briefly to show, in order.

First. It is not true that the results for which real Reformers have long struggled would have been "achieved," even if both parties had in fact been induced to nominate "excellent" men, as the *Sun* calls them. It would have been one result, but only one, and not the chief one. The Reformers have toiled and struggled, under sneers, misrepresentation, and insult, year after year, from the *Sun* and its coadjutors, and in spite of them, not merely to have good men nominated, but to hedge them all around with honest and stringent laws, for the protection of the suffrage, which they could not escape the necessity of enforcing if they would. The world is so full of excellence which has gone wrong, that the Reformers have insisted, with constant resolve, on positive and specific guaranties to make things of necessity go right, if possibly some statesman should turn out weak as well as "excellent," and fall, as such men often do, into the hands of flatterers and sharpers. That "excellent" person, Gov. Lloyd, in confessing his want of age and experience, informed us, at the close of his Inaugural Address, that his reliance was "upon Him who never faileth those who seek his guidance," and yet we are indebted to Gov. Lloyd for Thornton and Hudgins and Magers and Boyd. No Reformer, therefore, was ever silly enough to dream, for a moment, that his mission was over as soon as good names were put upon the tickets. The literature of "figureheads" has been too well read and illustrated, for folly of that sort to mislead any man of sense now. A cashier or trustee may be fit for canonization, but he is required to give bond and security, all the same. In a free country, the only enduring security of the franchises of the people is, at last, in their laws, and that security the Reformers have demanded and demand.

Second. It is not true, and the *Sun* knows it is not true, that "the Democratic party" has really given us the candidates for whom we are now commanded to vote, and the vicarious atonement of whose nomination (with the "pledges" thrown in) is supposed to have washed Mr. Gorman and all the rest of the scarlet sinners as white as snow, on the spot. Mr. Jackson, and his colleagues on the Democratic State ticket, are notoriously the candidates of the Ring and not of "the party." If Mr. Gorman himself had made the nominations, directly, they could not have been more absolutely his. The submission of the majority of the Convention—practically named for the most part by Mr. Gorman—was as unresisting as at any time since the Machine began to reign. There was no revolt of any kind against the Bosses, no generous uprising against the men who have weakened and betrayed the party, or the methods which have brought it to shame. The ballotings were shams—so empty that even the experienced performers found it difficult to conduct them with gravity. What happened on the last ballot would have happened on the first, if Mr. Gorman had seen fit to "leave off his faces" and begin. A more painfully lost opportunity for noble self-assertion and self-vindication—for cleansing itself from pollution and trampling fraud and its perpetrators in the dust—was never recorded in the history of a great party. It is melancholy to remember in whose behalf and at whose bidding that opportunity was wasted, and how easily discord and dissension and resistance might have been turned into union and enthusiasm, if the party had but listened to the voice of its high duty and its conscience.

But even if it were true that the Democratic party, and not the Bosses, had made the State nominations, it is palpably untrue that they are "excellent," in any sense that

commands the confidence of the people. Mr. Whyte, the only man of any mark upon the ticket, is as notoriously, and has been as long and as unfavorably associated with bossism and ring methods, in all their phases, as any politician in the State. He is in fact the author and founder of the Maryland machine, though latterly, to some retributive extent, its victim. His last public appearance was in support of the Ring or "Old Judge" ticket in the canvass of 1882, which ended in what we see that he prefers to call his "retirement." The Reformers of the State will not consider his record of that date as very much improved, by their recollection of his having made a special personal visit, since, to the President (as the newspapers informed us) in the interest of that commendable person, Mr. "Fred" Talbott. Mr. Whyte is also counsel of the West Virginia Railway Company, the corporation on whose particular behalf the spoliation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was flagrantly attempted, at the last session of the General Assembly, and, next to the capture of the judiciary for Ring judges, is, at this moment, the objective point of the Constitutional Convention job.

Of "the young Demosthenes," Mr. Baughman, the "excellent" candidate for the comptrollership, it ought to be enough to say that he is Mr. Gorman's president and administrator *de bonis non* of the unhappy Canal just mentioned, which it is now proposed to pillage, under a new constitution to be framed for the purpose, after having wrecked it under the present one. After a preposterous—by some believed to have been merely a pretended—canvass for the governorship, he was let down into the second place, for the peculiar duties of which, except in so far as they have been taught him by his success as a canal financier, the suggestion that he is fit is too ludicrous for serious discussion. Unless as a Ringster he is not a political entity at all.

Mr. Jackson, the candidate for Governor, whatever may be known of him in business life, has never been disclosed to the people of the State at large, except as the political associate, close friend and useful ally of Mr. Gorman, to whose manipulations exclusively his nomination is due. That the last named statesman would spend a year or more in getting up a "boom" for any living man as Governor, without seeing precisely how he could, himself, make something out of the transaction, we should do injustice to him and to history by intimating. The career of Mr. Jackson in the Senate of Maryland, and especially the countenance and support which he gave, at the last session, to the worst of the Ring projects, no doubt furnished as practical a person as Mr. Gorman, with a reasonable basis of experience in his calculation of benefits to come from his being seated in the gubernatorial chair. That they did or could possibly impress the Reformers, or any other friends of decent government or honest legislation, as particularly "excellent," the *Sun* ought to be ashamed to suggest. It only remains for that eminently conservative journal to render its habitual candor unassailable, by adding, that if the Reformers do not find, as they should, in the nominees on the State ticket, an ideal consummation of all their hopes and desires, they have at all events "achieved" everything on which their hearts were set, in the nomination of the "excellent" Mr. Latrobe!

The Republican party, on the other hand, instead of surrendering its integrity and manhood to its bosses and its hacks, has learned the uses of adversity, and placed itself before the people at its best. It has lifted itself alike above partisanship and those "politics" and politicians that make partisanship odious. It has sought its candidates in the

ranks of private life, among men of unsullied reputation and high personal qualities, who have never been soiled by the dust of the political arena, or known any relation to the community except that of life-long usefulness and honor. Without any hypocritical pretense of severing their party ties, these candidates have pledged their personal faith, not only to the reformation of the abuses and the extirpation of the frauds which have made our elections a mockery, but to the definite, literal, identical reforms, upon the need and efficiency of which the Independent Democrats have agreed. Upon the question of Civil Service Reform they are as thoroughly and unequivocally with us as the Democratic platform and its candidates are ruthlessly against us. Upon the two issues, therefore, and notably upon the one great issue—that of free and unpolluted suffrage—which is really the heart and essence of our hopes and aims in this contest, the Republican and Independent platforms are at one. How, therefore, any Reformer can doubt that Mr. Brooks and Mr. Bartlett represent the cause of State and Municipal reform—as against Mr. Jackson and Mr. Latrobe—is as difficult for us to understand, as it is for us to imagine how anything but bossism, with all the devil's work that it signifies—thistles from thistles—can come from the triumph of the Bosses.

But we must not forget our promise to expose the other false pretense of the *Sun*, wherein it insists that the noble pledges of the Democratic platform have consigned the iniquitous record of the Bosses to pious oblivion, and have rendered all arguments "based upon abuses or frauds in the past" "entirely irrelevant." In this the *Sun*, which has heretofore chiefly signified its appreciation of Mr. Dickens, by adopting the logic of Captain Bunsby, appears to have transferred its allegiance to the genial philosophy of Mr. Micawber. In none other, that we are aware, has a promise to pay been recognized so generously as a cancellation of the debt. But the *Sun* is incapable of stating any case fairly or truly. In alleging that "the only demand" of the Reformers on the Democratic party was that it should "take steps to reform the registration and election laws," the *Sun* relies on the ignorance or forgetfulness of its readers. It knows, as well as we, that the Reform Democrats never demanded merely of their party to "take steps" to reform abuses, but insisted, vigorously and all the time, upon its actually reforming them. They clamored for that reform, before the last session of the Legislature, as loudly and emphatically as they clamor for it now. They were told then that there was nothing important to reform, and the Bosses, and the *Sun*, and all the rest of the Boss caravan, denounced them as "soreheads" and "traducers" and "branded traitors," because they insisted—as it is now conceded—that there was. The Reformers had no confidence whatever in "steps," or any fooling of that sort, and had no reason to have any, or to be satisfied for a moment with them or with promises to take them. They had had "pledges," of the usual Boss pattern, in every platform for ten years, and every change had only made things worse. What they demanded, therefore, was the passage of the Tilden law—that specific law—in terms as they had modified it—with all its precise and definite provisions. If any alterations were proposed in it, they wanted to know what they were, before the election, so as to consider them and govern themselves accordingly. The pretense that they could ever be content with a loose and indefinite promise to give them "*the beneficial provisions* of the Tilden act," with those "additional safeguards which experience has taught"—leaving to a Ring Legislature to

determine, from their "experience," what provisions were "beneficial" and what "safeguards" were necessary—is a libel on their earnestness and intelligence. Of course, those reforms are only in the future—because the Bosses have prevented their being made in the past—and some Legislature has to make them under the auspices of some State administration. But no Reformer would ever have stultified himself by entrusting them to either an administration or a Legislature, selected by the very Bosses to whom the perpetuation of abuses is matter of life or death. The Republican party is bound by all its interests as well as by its pledges to election reform. The Bosses, on the other hand, are bound by all their interests to break their pledges, even if they amount to anything, as made.

But what does the *Sun* mean by its declaration that the Democratic platform pledges "the party" to "the adoption of such measures as will accomplish *all that is needed*"? Is not annual registration the very basis and *sine quâ non* of the Tilden law, and does not the Democratic platform distinctly affirm that annual registration in the city is not permissible under the present constitution—without embracing the counties also, which would be oppressive and is impracticable? How then can a Legislature, elected on that platform, give us "all that is needed" when the platform expressly asserts the constitutional inability of the Legislature to give us what is fundamental and most "needed"? The *Sun* forgets the curious and illustrative clerical error in Mr. Jackson's letter of acceptance, which made him promise what was "necessary," when he only meant to say "practicable," which of course gave unlimited margin. As to believing that the pledges of the Convention are "insincere"—an opinion which the *Sun* insists that "no honest and intelligent Democrat ought to entertain"—we are afraid that we must stand the consequences. We have already shown how hollow, indefinite and meaningless its pledges are, when analyzed, and how impossible it is—on the showing of the platform itself—to keep them to the letter or in the spirit, even if intended to be kept. While we repeat our expression of personal respect for many of the gentlemen who were members of the Convention, we confess our inability to predicate sincerity—in any honest effort for reform—in electoral abuses—of any political body, in which Mr. "Fred" Talbott, Mr. John F. Weyler, and Mr. Supervisor Thornton were among the managers, of which Mr. "Fritz" Buchheimer and Mr. "Jim" Busey were vice-presidents, and under whose auspices Messrs. John Q. A. Robson, "Squire" Sanner, "Sonny" Mahon, Sheriff Fledderman, and Mr. John F. Weyler represent the City of Baltimore on the State Central Committee. Can anything sincere or honest, of any sort, come from such people or from the influences which put them in the front?

We are aware that the *Sun* has endeavored to involve in the impeachment of the platform for insincerity, a similar impeachment of the gentlemen who are named as a committee to prepare a suitable election law. This of course is gratuitous as well as untrue. The sincerity of Mr. Gwinn, the chairman of that committee, as a proposed reformer of electoral abuses, cannot possibly be an element in any serious discussion to-day. He is the parent of the existing abuses, and is known to have a father's love for them. But no one, to our knowledge, has questioned for an instant the capacity, sincerity, or thorough good faith of his associates. Unfortunately, however, they are residents of the counties, and are absolutely (and happily for them) without practical knowledge, from experience and observation, of the opportunities

and facilities for fraud which may be furnished by an apparently insignificant provision or expression. They cannot by possibility be experts—and were doubtless selected because they are not experts—in a matter which only an expert can thoroughly understand. It has taken the astute representatives of the Reform League two years of patient, intelligent, and incessant labor to ferret out only a part of the ways and devices of the Bosses, with their marvellous ingenuity in fraud. It would take from now till the next meeting of the Legislature, for Mr. Gwinn's associates to learn one-half of what he knew and profited by in 1875.

But what is the good of speculating upon the influence which the appointment of these gentlemen should have upon the question of the sincerity or insincerity of the platform—when it does not even pledge “the party” to adopt their law after they shall have prepared it? They are only to “submit it” to the Legislature “for its action.” Who doubts what that “action” will be, in a Ring Legislature, if the law submitted should be “hard on the boys”? The name of Mr. Farnandis, as one of the committee, recalls an experience of his, in like case, in 1876, which ought to settle that question for everybody but the *Sun*.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PROPERTY QUALIFICATION.

IT is not easy to imagine anything more delightfully frank and unsophisticated than the following, which we clip from the advertising columns of the *Sun*. We are responsible for the italics.

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION NOTICE.

Democratic Candidates for any State or Municipal Office who desire to be voted for at either of the Primary Elections to be held, by order of resolutions of the Democratic City Convention, on September 27 or on October 4, 1887, respectively, are hereby notified that, in accordance with the terms of said resolutions, *they are required to inform the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Room 6 Hoen Building, at or before 5 o'clock P. M. Tuesday, September 20, the office for which such person is a candidate, his residence and ward; at which time he will be advised of the amount assessed for the expenses of such elections and the time limited for the payment of the same.*

Any person failing to comply herewith will not be eligible to be voted for as a candidate, and if voted for at such election, the votes will not be counted.

FETTER S. HOBLITZELL,

Chairman Democratic Executive Committee.
JOHN M. DULANY, Sec.

There is nothing novel, of course, in expecting candidates for office to contribute, according to their means or inclination, to the “legitimate” expenses of the election for which they are proposed. Of course, too, there has always been a reasonable latitude in the interpretation of the word “legitimate,” and there are doubtless cases, within the memory of man, wherein it has been held to cover the outlay of Mr. Eugene Higgins, in transporting repeaters from Washington, not less than the cost of printing the ballots with which their “puddings” were stuffed. But, so far as had come to our knowledge, before reading Mr. Hoblitzell's general orders, the contributions had been confined to the candidates who were actually nominated. The unfortunates who were left out were usually regarded as objects of sympathy rather than assessment. Of course, we do not forget the historical occasion when Mr. Rasin persuaded Mr. Latrobe to give him a couple of thousands, in order to pay the “expenses” of “influencing” the choice of delegates to a certain mayoralty convention, and after the primaries were over, suddenly discovered, with sincere regret, that “the life of the party” required the convention to nominate Mr. Whyte. But that, we had always understood, was an exceptional case of gushing and unrequited confidence, and we had taken “cash on delivery” to be the usual—as Mr. Latrobe's experience demonstrated it to be the only safe—rule. It seems, however, that the present necessities, or tactics, of the party not only require it to refuse credit and insist upon cash in advance—which is rather a painful reflection upon the good faith or sol-

venency of the office-seeking Democracy—but to demand further, that every one who wants to be nominated shall pay his scot, whether he is counted in or counted out. In other words, every one must pay for his ticket in the lottery, whether he draws a prize or a blank. When we consider the gentlemen who do the drawing, and how largely their diversified and well known abilities multiply the risks of the game, it must be clear that public office is regarded as a good deal better thing than it seems to be on its face, if our would-be statesmen are willing to put up their margins, anyhow, and take their chances.

But we are not so much concerned with the cash or credit aspect of Mr. Hoblitzell's manifesto, as with the candid shamelessness and audacity of its incidental disclosures. Let us classify these and make them patent. *First*: No man can be a candidate, at the Democratic primaries—no matter how much the people may desire his nomination—unless he informs Mr. Hoblitzell of his particular pretensions, by the 20th of September, and names his ward and residence. *Second*: On giving this information, he is to be notified of the amount which he is required to pay for “expenses,” and of the time within which he must pay it. *Third*: That amount is fixed beforehand, arbitrarily, by somebody—not the candidate nor his friends. The candidate has absolutely nothing to do with it. He cannot even elect to defray his own expenses—or give bond, with approved security, as purchasers in many other branches of trade are allowed to do. If he thinks the assessment too high, or the date too short, he has no remedy, because—*Fourth*: If he fails to send in his name and pay the cash demanded, by the day fixed, he not only “*will not be eligible to be voted for as a candidate*”—which disqualifies him—but even if a majority of the voters in his ward or district, laboring under the innocent delusion that the choice of candidates is their business and not Mr. Hoblitzell's, shall contumaciously give him their votes, “*the votes will not be counted*.” He had as well be a Reform candidate in Mr. “Jim” Bussey's ward! This, in its turn, is of course a disfranchisement of the voters. Summing up the whole, it amounts literally to this: that no man shall be allowed to be a candidate for nomination, at the Democratic primaries, and the people shall not be permitted to vote for any man as a candidate, until he shall first have enrolled his name and paid a sum of money, to be prescribed by the Democratic Executive Committee or some one behind it. This, certainly, is “popular election” and “the untrammelled choice of the people” with a vengeance! How much nearer can the Machine go towards directing who shall be nominated, than by determining who shall not be? We have long ceased to be much surprised by any development of Ring “politics,” but we confess ourselves amazed at the impudence with which an organization, calling itself Democratic, has not only ventured to adopt such a scheme, but has dared officially to formulate and announce it. “I never wonder,” said Dean Swift, “to see men wicked, but I often wonder to see them not ashamed.” Nothing but the long, demoralizing usage of being governed by the worst men in its ranks, and the habit of submitting to any and every thing which they choose to label with the party name, could have suppressed the indignation with which a great party ought to have hooted at once such a flagrant usurpation by its underlings. Let us illustrate—for we are not speaking idly, or making a mountain out of a molehill.

In the present condition of our politics it may be assumed as reasonably possible, that there is a respectable man, here and there, in the Democratic party, who may desire to be a candidate for nomination at the primaries, and may, at the same time, be greatly disgusted at the idea of having to enter himself upon Mr. Hoblitzell's books and pay his entrance money, as if he were somebody's bay horse or chestnut colt, booked for a sweepstakes at Pimlico. A man, we persuade ourselves, may be a good Christian and even a good Democrat, without having any faith whatever in Mr. Hoblitzell or his committee, or in the packed convention of Rasinite old-hunkers, by whom he and they were brought to the front. Indeed, it is conceivable, after reading Mr. Hoblitzell's own little official contributions to the lower literature of fraudulent registration, that even some very

decent Stalwarts may be extremely loath to trust either him or his books, and may have a lurking suspicion that when they give notice, a fortnight in advance, of their purpose to be candidates, they are only giving the gentlemen who regulate the primaries a couple of good working weeks to beat—or, if so good a man as Mr. Hoblitzell were not in it, we might perhaps say—to cheat them. Moreover, we think it not altogether an unusual occurrence for a citizen to be very fit for place and have his fitness appreciated by the people, without being able to submit to assessments for “expenses” or anything else. Indeed, we had supposed it to be a fundamental principle of republican government, to say nothing of Democratic doctrine, that the door to office is wide open to merit, poor as well as rich, and that no man is obliged to pay toll to go through it. Party conventions and committees may no doubt properly provide for the holding of primary elections, but we are at a loss to conceive from what source they can pretend or imagine themselves to have derived the power to impose what is practically a property qualification, neither more nor less, upon candidates for nomination. Put the thing as you will, to say that a man shall be “ineligible” for nomination, and that no votes for him shall be counted, unless he first make a money deposit, is to make the possession of the money an absolute condition of his nomination, and, as he cannot become one of the candidates of the party unless he is nominated, and will be denounced and “read out of the party” and not voted for by it, if he runs without being nominated, it is impossible to dispute that the party, to the extent of its ability, as effectually imposes a property qualification upon him, by the Hoblitzell process, as if such qualification had been affixed, in terms, to the office, by constitutional provision. There is no escape from this conclusion in fact or logic. Moreover, with assessments made at the discretion of campaign committees, and with practical exclusion from party support and opportunities as the penalty for refusing to submit to them, what hindrance is there to discrimination against candidates who are obnoxious to the Machine, and whose popularity with the voters is feared? It may cost far less, and be altogether more safe, to rule them out, by a high tariff, than to let them in and pay the “expenses” of getting rid of them. We all know that assessments are habitually measured by the pecuniary ability, actual or supposed, of the candidate, his willingness to be bled, and the dignity and especially the value of the place to which he aspires. We remember to have heard, from the best sources, of at least one occasion, on which the entrance money of a Democratic judicial candidate was fixed at two thousand dollars. There is, too, a well known tradition—not old enough, quite, to be classified as folk lore—whereby it appears that a gentleman was nominated to Congress, once upon a time, by the Democracy, and being unable to pay “spot cash,” was permitted to give his note for his “expenses.” He failed to pay during his official term, and his successor was “required” to guaranty the note, as a condition precedent to being made “the people’s choice” at the next primaries. With even our limited opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge of the kind, we could give many like illustrations, and there are stalwart gentlemen whom we could name, who could give a host of them if they would but empty the wallets of their memories. There is not a well informed politician in the city whose recollection is not full of them, and who does not know that assessments for “expenses” are the seed of every sort of favoritism, corruption, domination, and blackmail. Not the least abomination of the practice is the frequently resulting vassalage of needy and unscrupulous office seekers, who, being unable to pay their quota, are compelled to have it paid for them by the bosses or their brokers, and thus mortgage themselves into servitude for all bad offices, as their only method of repayment.

Although we have said more than we intended, already, the presentation of the subject would be radically incomplete, if we were not to allude to a phase of the situation which is none the less illustrative because of its extreme comicality. While Mr. Hoblitzell and his committee were standing by the party box-office, resolutely and solemnly

going through the form of refusing admission to every man who would not buy a ticket and have it punched, Mr. Hoblitzell’s superiors were running wildly around town, from counting-room to counting-room, imploring every “business man” whom they could buttonhole, and who would suit them, to walk into the mayoralty and oblige them, upon any terms. We have not heard that they entreated Mr. Hodges once again to save “our Southern trade” (about which Mr. Gorman says he is painfully anxious) from the catastrophe of Mr. Brooks’ or Mr. Bartlett’s success. If, however, we are to believe the newspapers, they repeated their standing, periodical application to Mr. Hurst, and unsuccessfully besieged Mr. McKenney White and sundry other respectable mercantile politicians, not to mention Mr. Devries, whose refusal so much disconcerted them. There was no notice to these gentlemen to pay up or become “ineligible”—no day fixed for the delivery of their tribute—no thrusting of Mr. Hoblitzell’s order in their faces! “The party” would be only too glad to have them upon any terms—cash, or credit, or neither, as they might prefer—provided they would only “harmonize” things by coming in and helping to shut out Mr. Latrobe, with his malodorous record of 1875. We can imagine the “expenses” that would have been charged to the latter gentleman, if Mr. Devries had accepted the call from the hotel parlors, and he (Mr. L.) had notified Mr. Hoblitzell of his desire to be a candidate, notwithstanding. Nor is this all. Whenever the saviors of the party, Mr. Gorman (who is as disinterestedly anxious about our municipal affairs as if Baltimore were in Howard County), Mr. Rasin, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Slater, got together, to give us a Mayor and City Council—and bring sweet harmony, on halcyon wings, once more among us—somehow or other there was always what is technically called a “hitch,” because of the unwillingness to “recognize” the erring brothers sufficiently, and lead them home again by giving them all the City Councilmen they wanted. Mr. Slater insisted that some of the Rasin candidates should be withdrawn and Slater men be put in their places, etc., and so they shuffled the candidates as if they were cards and then adjourned, each insisting that his own knaves should be dealt and should win. If the candidates belonged to them, as well as the nominations and the offices, they could do no more, and yet there stood Mr. Hoblitzell all the while, as we have said, with his committee, crying aloud as if he were in dead earnest, and as if no one could be a candidate without passing through his little mill and leaving something in his big toll-dish! Nay, he appeared, actually, to be under the impression that no one comprehended the farce or resented the insolence and imposture of it all. Whether he was really serious or not, we shall be able better to determine, when we learn whether he has notified himself that he desires to be nominated for the Prosecuting Attorneyship, and has advised himself of the amount which he will require himself to pay himself for his chance.

THE ISSUE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THE platform on which Walter B. Brooks and David L. Bartlett stand is worthy of them. Plain, straightforward business men ask the suffrages of the people, pledged to a policy so clearly and boldly stated that partisan malignity cannot even affect to doubt what it is. We are loath to think the Democratic platform equally worthy of the party’s chief candidate, but his correction of the “clerical error” in his letter of acceptance, on which we commented last month, indicates that he is fast acquiring, if he does not yet possess, the mental and moral traits which will put him in harmony with it. Even Mr. Gwinn has rarely approached the merit of the Ring’s pledges in the art of so cloaking sense with intricate verbiage as to leave open several equally disingenuous interpretations for every cloudy statement, to be respectively used as the interest of the party may hereafter suggest. If it is creditable to angle for votes by pretending to say what you mean afterwards to deny having said, and suggesting what you intend to disavow, then the Democratic platform does no discredit to the party.

We are now concerned, however, with a plank which, although marked by much confusing language and some contradictions in terms, can hardly be called misleading, for

any one misled by it must be either too ignorant or too stupid to take interest in its subject-matter. Even the party organ, between whose editorials and this platform there is a strong family resemblance, recognizes this, and in its labored apologies for the convention does not seek to prove that it endorsed Civil Service Reform; it is content with showing that the last Democratic National Convention did no more. It is of course true that the convention which nominated Cleveland to obtain the reform vote evaded an explicit approval of the merit system, lest this should dampen the ardor of party "workers"; but it refrained also from commendation of a system which brands half the voters of the Union as unworthy of public employment by reason of opinions conscientiously held regarding matters in nowise affecting their duties as officers. The Democratic party of Maryland, if we may trust its platform, "believes that the service should be composed of officers and employes . . . who believe that upon the continued and just success of the Democratic party rest the safety and security of republican institutions and the liberties of the people," thus proscribing every honest Republican, every honest Prohibitionist, every honest Labor Reformer, and even every Democrat who doubts whether the liberties of the American people depend upon the "continued success" of a party for a quarter of a century excluded from power; this asserts the "spoils" doctrine with a crudeness which no amount of diluted falsehood in the platform can soften. Compare this language with the letter written by the same hand for Senator Gorman on October 23, 1885. In this he is made to say: "I heartily concur in such civil service reform as will prevent the civil service of the country from being subordinated to political uses or taxed for political objects." This was, indeed, a peculiarly shameless misstatement, for he had been during several years and was then chairman of the State Democratic Committee, by which the City and State officeholders had been "taxed for political objects" with unvarying regularity, and in this very letter justified the "subordination of the public service" to so base a "political use" as the reward of Higgins and Thomas. Still it is significant that two years ago Senator Gorman or his mentor deemed this hypocrisy expedient. Now they think it may be safely discarded, and the citizens of Maryland must choose between a party unequivocally pledged to a "thorough, radical and complete" reform in the method of filling non-political subordinate offices in the City and State government, and a party avowing its determination to use these offices in future as it has done in the past, to stimulate the zeal and reward the activity of its adherents. What is involved in this choice?

First, the power of the bosses. The president of the late Democratic Convention said on October 27th, 1882: "I tell you your political liberties are in danger. There is a clique who have seized the Democratic organization and who hold it for personal aggrandizement. They have said to you (I am talking to Democrats), 'We have determined who shall be the Judges.' Frank Morrison, Robert J. Slater, and Rasin say to any young man who aspires to office: 'You shan't be nominated unless we say so, and we won't say so unless you pay for it.'" What Mr. Bernard Carter said five years ago he could, if he would, repeat with equal truth and greater personal knowledge to-day. The same "clique" hold their "harmonious" gatherings at Rennert's or the Carrollton, and every man, from the City Solicitor down to a street-sweeper, who takes office at their hands must still "pay for it," if not in money, in subserviency and labor. Why is this? What is the secret of their influence? Do the men he named owe this to their virtues, or their public spirit, or their eloquence, or their eminence in any honorable occupation? Would even he now deny that their power depends solely upon their skill and success in obtaining places for their adherents in return for services often of a worse than questionable character? Each of them has a horde of retainers whose allegiance he commands because, and only because, they hope he will get them support from the taxpayers. Take away from him the opportunity to do this and he is shorn of his strength as Samson by Delilah's scissors. A boss with no places to give away, either in fact

or at least in hope, would be a boss no longer. Now, the Republican platform promises to bring this about; it does not propose to substitute a Republican boss or ring for a ring of Democratic bosses, but it says as distinctly and positively as the English language permits that it will make rings and bosses of any party impossible. It asks for power with the distinct pledge that it will hold power in trust for *all* the people, not for the "personal aggrandizement" of any "clique" or any man. The Democratic Ring would perpetuate the rule of Rasin and his brethren, for these will never lack successors in a community which tolerates the system that produced them; the Republican platform would have done once for all with them and all their foul surroundings, and make their ignoble sway only a humiliating memory to the people they have plundered.

Again, it involves the character of our public servants. The Democratic platform demands that these should "have their heart in their work." In what work? Not, assuredly, the work for which the government pays them. A Republican or a Prohibitionist will take as much pride and pleasure in correctly delivering letters, or ruling red lines neatly, or making no mistakes in columns of figures, as a Democrat. Nothing, certainly, would be more likely to take a man's heart *out* of *such* work than the knowledge that aptitude for it has counted for nothing in getting him his place, and excellence in it will not help him keep it. But there is other "work" for Senator Gorman's *proteges*; the "work" which gained Higgins and Thomas and Mahon and Quinn and Fenton and Harig, and Rasin himself, their salaries, and which would, doubtless, have done as well for Burke and Kennedy ere this but for Mr. Gans and the Court of Appeals. Only men who "have their heart" in work like this answer the Senator's purposes or secure his favor, and it is to men of this type that the offices must be restricted if he or his admirers and pupils distribute them. And as the work they must do becomes constantly more odious and dangerous, so the men who have their heart in this work, and get the offices because they have, become, as every batch of new appointments is announced, baser and more desperate. The inevitable deterioration of a public service which is "subordinated to political uses" was never better illustrated than by the Federal appointments in Maryland. Our old friends Higgins and Thomas have acquired a relative respectability by comparison with the later nominees. Ballot-burners and fraudulent bankrupts are rather singular persons to be chosen by a reform administration for positions of confidence, but they are better than men who have sought to take life, such as Harig and Owings, or actual murderers like Trust. Against Higgins a civil suit had been brought as the keeper of a gambling house, which he settled; but Bacharach had been convicted and imprisoned for the same crime when he entered the Internal Revenue Department. A packed Grand Jury threw out the indictment for ballot stuffing against Morris Thomas, and he was protected by limitations from further prosecution. But James Mahon may be brought to-morrow from the Custom House to stand a second trial for his frauds as register, and may not find a second jury to disagree in a case plain as day, if one of them will not be immediately appointed to office. Higgins again might be safely called a man of bad moral character; but Charles Carroll goes to the Marine Hospital, not only after dismissal from Bay View for scandalous immorality, but after waiting a year in jail to be tried for rape and with the statted indictment still hanging over him. Why are these men employed by the United States? Why is a homicide like Thomas Goodrich a deputy warden at the jail? Why are Konig and Bucheimer and "Butch" Murphy in the city's pay? Why is James F. Busey re-appointed to a responsible position by each successive Democratic Mayor and chosen to preside over a Democratic Convention? If Senator Gorman wanted a gardener or a clerk he would not choose a man likely to cut his throat or pick his pocket. Why does he foist such men on President and Governor and Mayor, and all the appointing officers or boards that he controls? The reason is perfectly plain; he needs these men to do work which they will do, and which men of other antecedents would not do; the work which has made him

Senator and perpetuated the power and the profits of his fellows. Take away the possibility of such men obtaining support from the taxpayers and you do away with the "work" in which only such as they can "have their heart." Trust, it may be remembered, passed the Civil Service examinations in the Custom House, but obtained so low a mark that he despaired of appointment. The "dudish" and "visionary" methods of Civil Service Reform were "practical" enough to exclude this murderer from the classified service, and, no doubt, the same "senile gangrene" would have proved equally repulsive to Carroll and Bacharach, and Owings and Harig and Jimmy Mahon.

Finally, this choice involves the good name of the State. As our fellow-countrymen see us enduring abuses elsewhere corrected, patient of scandals elsewhere removed, misled by sophistry elsewhere exploded, blinded by prejudices elsewhere outgrown; as they hear of our choosing assassins to be Judges of Election, and filling up every branch of our public service, Federal, State and Municipal, with the worst ruffians in our midst; when they learn that fifteen or twenty election officers have been convicted of outrages upon the most sacred rights of freemen, and yet that the law officer who prosecuted them has earned party ostracism by doing his duty; when they see a man who has notoriously gained power by the aid of dangerous criminals, and befouled the public service with his disgraceful satellites in return—our first representative in the national legislature and omnipotent in the councils of our dominant party—as good men in our sister States see and hear all these things, they are asking in perplexity and surprise what spell has made Marylanders so unworthy of their fathers and of the common heritage of American liberty. When Mr. Curtis at Newport pronounced Maryland politics "a national by-word of corruption," he but said what is said by enlightened and conscientious men all around us. We may half persuade ourselves, as the *Sun* would have us, that these are only the trade slanders inspired by commercial jealousy, but we know well enough that to do this is but to abdicate our reason. A community which lets itself be ruled by Gorman and Rasin need have little fear of jealousy as to anything; it may be heartily despised, but it will not be envied; the States which grow and prosper are not satisfied with public men such as they. If, however, we would not be as the ostrich and foolishly try to think scandals and perils do not exist because when we shut our eyes we no longer see them, we must do one of two things, sit down and take the contempt and derision which we know we deserve, or vindicate our manhood by purging the State of the men and the methods which justify these. In the first case, we shall vote for Jackson and Latrobe; in the second, for Brooks and Bartlett.

THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS AT THE CONCORDIA OPERA HOUSE.

The mass meeting of Independent Democrats at the Concordia Opera House on Friday night, called for the purpose of endorsing the Republican State and Municipal tickets, was one of those splendid outbursts of popular enthusiasm which only the discussion of great issues in the presence of determined men can call forth. The great auditorium was packed half an hour before the time fixed for the opening of the meeting, and not less than a thousand men were turned away because there was not even standing room for them. Over two hundred prominent and influential Democrats, representing the best of every profession, business and trade—merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, doctors, and lawyers, occupied seats on the stage. The following is a partial list of them: Wm. W. Taylor, Thomas McCosker, J. Hall Pleasants, Henry James, Wm. Keyser, John K. Cowen, Gen. Stewart Brown, Charles J. Baker, Wm. H. Crawford, George A. Dubreuil, R. B. Buck, John A. Whitridge, Matt S. Atkinson, Morton Schaeffer, W. Morris Orem, Joseph Packard, T. Wallis Blakistone, E. J. D. Cross, Joseph Schenthal, H. Irving Keyser, George E. Christopher, Col. George P. Thomas, Gen. R. Snowden Andrews, Alexander Rieman, Philip T. George, S. Teackle Wallis, Richard H. Pleasants,

Col. Charles Marshall, Gen. John Gill, Myer Stein, Owen A. Gill, Edward Connolly, Thomas Shields, Henry V. Ward, S. P. Ryland, Chas. F. Pitt, Jr., J. Southgate Lemmon, R. M. Venable, John D. Early, H. D. Loney, Wm. Winchester, B. Dobson, C. Morton Stewart, Charles T. Boehm, Henry C. Wagner, John A. Brown, Dr. J. H. Hartmann, George W. Grafflin, Allan McLane, Robert D. Morrison, Henry C. Kennard, Conrad H. Gross, Henry Engel, W. A. Allers, Richard Bernard, James Pentland, Joseph C. Feldhaus, Lawrence A. Moore, Dr. G. Warlitz, William Irvine Cross, George G. Carey, John Hubert, William S. Card, W. Cabell Bruce, C. E. Roberts, Edward S. Myers, William H. Corner, William H. Cole, Henry Clark, I. D. Lookingland, James A. Jacob, Richard Gosnall, John F. Gibbons, William S. Cross, Frederick J. Brown, Harry E. Mann, S. Teackle Wallis, Jr., Robert W. Hays, Matthew Greer, Andrew Jackson Stouf, Samuel C. Chew, M. D., Robert C. Hall, Edward Fitzgerald, B. F. Kenly, Dr. Charles R. Pue, Thomas Hitaffer, Baker Johnson, Lawrence Aler, William A. Hanway, Thomas L. Peters, Leonard Burkheimer, Harry W. Medinger, Charles P. Powell, Frederick Leist, Wm. Ferguson, John L. Cole, Thomas S. Baer, William Reynolds, W. Starr Gephart, Henry J. Bowdoin, Fritz Lewis, Thomas J. Kernan, John Pentland Brown, James H. Downs, E. A. Depkin, E. Allers, Francis K. Carey, John Stinchcomb of N., James Grier, H. C. McComas, S. Hoffman McLane, Jos. C. Clendenin, Jr., John Scally, Wm. G. Dougherty, Archibald B. Coulter, Bernhard Dieter, Gabriel Du Val, James Grillet, Dr. Frank Germon, T. E. McCready, James J. Lacy, Wm. Cowan, J. W. Guest, Arthur McCaffray, Geo. W. Wright, John Uhrig, Thomas A. Williams, James R. Burgess, Geo. G. Hooper, Roger W. Cull, James Jacobs, George Blakistone, David Stewart, George H. Stickney, Geo. F. Gephart, Patrick Cain, Wm. W. Keys, Winfield Peters, Lamartine J. Fobes, Jos. R. Foard, John H. Hines, J. Southgate Yeaton, Wm. Grafflin, Thos. K. Carey, Frank L. Smith, Philip McAdams, John H. Allers, Frederick Wolf, John Eigenbrodt, George Johns, Fred. Rohlfing, Thomas B. Mackall, Joseph Riddlemoser, George W. Grafflin, Felix McCurley, Sr., Wm. Heinekamp, Littleton Morgan Cross, George W. Moke, Sr., William F. C. Lloyd, Jacob Sapp, Wm. H. Pasterfield, George H. Kerner, David M. Sadler.

The principal orator of the evening was Mr. S. Teackle Wallis, who has led the cause of Reform in the State for more than thirty years, a pronounced Democrat of what our Northern friends would call the "war type," who, everybody remembers, was a member of the State Legislature in 1861 and was arrested under General McClellan's famous order to prevent a suspected act of secession and imprisoned in Fort Warren. Colonel Marshall, the other speaker, entered the Confederate army at the outbreak of the war and fought in it until he surrendered at Appomattox with General Lee, of whose staff he was the most trusted member. The enthusiasm of the meeting was spontaneous and unbounded. The receptions to the speakers were in keeping with it. The ovation to Mr. Wallis produced a scene rarely witnessed. As he walked up the aisle the entire audience, including the two hundred people on the stage, rose to their feet and greeted him with deafening cheers, which continued until he took his seat on the platform. The following address to the Independent Democrats of the State was presented, and adopted amid tremendous applause:

To the Independent Democrats of the State of Maryland and City of Baltimore:

There is no Democratic party in Baltimore City. One of the most prominent Democrats in the State, a man identified for a lifetime with the best history of that party, has publicly stated that he found here "many Democrats, but no Democratic party." This is literally true. There is an organization here calling itself by the name of the Democratic party, and debasing that name to the worst uses. It is not in any sense Democratic. Its leader is a Republican who held office from the Republican party during the war and proscription eras. His lieutenant and chief ally was secretary of a Know-Nothing society called the "Ashland Club," who went down with that organization in the reform movement of 1859 and 1860, and came up again as a Democrat when the war was over. The purposes and work of the organization are no more Democratic than its leaders. It is a purely commercial association, trading in legislation and patronage as a business. Sometimes the enterprise has a profit to divide, and

sometimes it suffers loss and borrows money. It is perfectly well known in the city when the business has been unprofitable, when the treasury is empty, and what legislation is expected to refill it. It is perfectly well known that the failure of the "Canal Bill" and the "Early Call Bill" at the last session of the Legislature nearly stranded the association from a financial point of view. All these facts are matters of public notoriety. Such are the leaders, such are the purposes, of the association.

This organization has banded together the criminal classes of the city for election and other purposes. Certain local leaders in each ward, men of the worst character, frequently men with long criminal records, are given the distribution of certain portions of the city's patronage, to be used in keeping together bands of roughs and ballot thieves. These ward leaders, in return for the patronage which is given them, supply the men for carrying elections by fraud, and, in some of the lower wards, keep together the thugs and cut-throats employed to overawe those who oppose the plans of the managers. In many cases inoffensive men are assaulted by their agents, and, in more than one instance, they have not stopped at deliberate murder. Seven men have been appointed to office under the city, State and national governments within a few months past who have taken human life, and these appointments have not been made by oversight, but in spite of all protests—in most cases they were reappointments.

ITS EFFECT ON BUSINESS.

Our city suffers, in a business point of view, the natural effects of such government. Although there has been no legitimate or honest cause for great expense; although our public buildings have been inexpensive, and our sewerage system and pavements of the simplest and cheapest kind, yet our city groans under the burdens of a tax rate which the very organ of the ring confesses to be, when properly estimated, higher than that of any other city on the Atlantic coast, save Jersey City alone. At the time when the tax rate for last year was published, the same paper made the following confession in its editorial columns: "The people of those cities [New York and Philadelphia] are long-suffering. They have had much experience with all sorts of municipal corruption and extravagance. There has been no manner of jobbery with which they have not become familiarized, and yet such a burden as that which is about to be laid upon our shoulders would provoke a political storm in either of them before which nothing could stand."

Such is the organization that is called the Democratic party of Baltimore City, and by whose solid vote and influence the State organization is controlled. What disgrace it has brought upon our city during the last three years, what open frauds are being attempted by it at this time through the registers, are known to us all. We have heard a supervisor of elections announce publicly that the principle which guided him in selecting judges of election was "to get two of the sharpest Democrats he could find, and put with them the weakest sort of a Republican," and the Governor of the State, even after this confession of fraudulent purpose, refused to remove him. This man was a member of the last State Convention, and is to-day a candidate of the regular party for the Second Branch of the City Council for the ninth and tenth wards.

We have seen two sets of supervisors of election deliberately fill the polling windows with judges taken from the very dregs of the city. We have seen them making their appointments in secret session, and refusing to the public the information it was entitled to have. Not only so. We have seen them attempting to hide from view the public records of their office, and producing them only when the process of the court had compelled them to do so. We have seen them destroy, under advice of counsel, a part of those public records when proceedings had been begun in the courts to make them disclose. We have heard a supervisor, when two judges appointed by him had committed a political murder, and were under arrest for it at the time, impudently express his doubts as to whether they would be unfit for the offices to which he had appointed them.

THE OUTRAGES IT HAS COMMITTED.

Time would fail to tell all the outrages that have been committed openly, publicly and systematically, by this association. It has appointed to public office thieves, burglars, express robbers, murderers, and men stained with every crime. It has burned the ballots when in the custody of the clerk of the court, and the perpetrators of the act have publicly boasted of it; indeed, every one connected with that act has been rewarded from the public treasury. It has secured places in the Government employ for the two most notorious election thieves in the city. It has garrisoned a ward with ruffians, and kept them in the city's pay. Of twenty-three city, State and Federal employes in that ward, we have found nineteen whose names appear on the criminal records of the city. Worse than all, the attorney of the organization, to whom it has committed the drafting of our election laws, has defiled our statute books with laws fitted only to be the instruments of fraud. For twelve years its platforms have promised a reform in the election law, a promise repeated again and again, and each time this gentleman has been employed to evade the fulfilment of the pledge. The late Convention has actually repeated the stale promise, and made the same man chairman of its committee to prepare the law.

All this has gone on, and neither publicity nor protest has availed to check it. Three successive grand juries have declared that the supervisors appointed by the Governor have either abused their trust

or been imposed upon in the appointing of improper judges. So little effect has this had upon the Governor that he has again selected supervisors without granting minority representation.

The Reform League, a non-partisan organization, has succeeded in sending to prison ten judges and clerks of election for election crimes, and in no case has the prosecution received the least assistance from the police, and in every case they have been called as witnesses for the defence. The Assistant State's Attorney, though at the time a member of the regular party, prosecuted these offenders with great vigor and ability, and to his exertions, in a great measure, the city owes their conviction. His sense of duty has been treated as disloyalty to the "party," and to-day, in seeking the promotion to which he is justly entitled, he is pursued with envenomed malignity by the whole power of the organization.

The investigations of the League have disclosed frauds in registration amounting to thousands of names. In some cases the names have been taken bodily from the directories of other cities. In one case the names of a whole class at the Medical College have been found registered in one ward, and solidly voted, though none of them for years had been living in the city. At this very time the registers are engaged in a concerted attempt to hinder the agents of the League in the simple effort to watch their proceedings, and this, although the law requires that their sittings shall be public. Indeed, one of the registers has stated in open court that they do this under advice of counsel, that counsel being at the same time secretary of the Democratic State Central Committee. Indeed, the chairman of the Democratic City Executive Committee actually makes a newspaper attack upon the agent of the Reform League when he attempts an investigation of the three most notorious wards of the city. Only the action of the courts has secured to the agents of the League the simple right to watch the registration; even that has not made them safe against arrest, insult, and malicious indignity after arrest.

Such is the association that claims our Democratic allegiance from year to year. An organization no more political than the carpet-baggers of Louisiana, the Tweed ring of New York, or the Mahone abomination of Virginia, forces its agents upon us as candidates, appoints criminals to office, seats by fraud and violence those whom it cannot elect, and treats as a breach of party loyalty any protest against its own usurpations. So little is it itself bound by Democratic ideas that the platform of its late Convention distinctly declares for a protective tariff, and antagonizes the National Convention on the subject of Civil Service Reform. The so-called Democratic party here is no more governed by Democratic principles than it is by the rules of common honesty. It is as undemocratic as it is immoral, and its claim to be the Democratic party is an impudent sham. It is time this masquerade should cease. An organization officered by a Republican and a Know-Nothing has, year after year, driven us to the support of bad candidates and the condonation of fraud, ruffianism and misrule by the crack of the party whip and "pleas for the life of the Democratic party." We will be influenced by this no longer. Other sham issues have been raised and disposed of. This is but another of the same. The Democratic party will not be hurt, but strengthened, by our acts. It will regain the majority that has dwindled under this régime. The fear that the Democratic party will die if it attempts to cleanse itself is not the inspiration of sound Democracy, but the artful suggestion of the unclean spirit that has taken possession of the party. The Democratic party was born in the house of rebellion, and its cradle was rocked to a rebellious song. We assert our right to rebel against this organization in the most effective way we can, and believe that in doing so we will be representing the highest and purest form of Democracy. We do, therefore, as Democrats, disown allegiance to the so-called Democratic party in this State as a sham and fraud, and we call upon every true Democrat to join with us this year in defeating the candidates, State and city, of this self-constituted organization. We believe that a real Democrat can be engaged in no better work at this time than in relieving the party from such an incubus, and the party name from disgrace.

UNITE FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

But it is not only as Democrats feeling the disgrace of our party and desiring its restoration that we act. There is a civic obligation higher than such sentiments. There are times when it becomes the duty of honest and intelligent citizens to fling aside all the trammels of faction, and to unite, without distinction of party, for the common good. Our election and registration laws are monstrosities, intelligent only in their adaptation to purposes of fraud. Our elections have for years been a public scandal, and one grand jury after another has officially called them to the attention of the Criminal Court. The popular demand for reform has become loud and clamorous, and the need of an efficient election law is recognized by all classes of people.

It is not too much to say that the so-called Democratic party is at this time making a transparent attempt to cheat this popular demand. Its Convention promises with grave solemnity to give us election reform when the very men who render the necessity for reform most urgent sat in that Convention and controlled its action. Even on the same day that the promise for reform is made that Convention puts upon its State committee two of the most notorious ballot thieves in the city. It promises a new election law, and makes chairman of the committee to frame it the very gentleman who contrived the present one. It promises us the Tilden election law when, in point of fact, the party could, if its organization were not flagrantly corrupt, give us in a moment all the beneficial features of the Tilden law without

any legislation whatever. Minority watchers at the registration, ready access to the list of changes, minority representation on the board that appoints the judges and clerks of election, minority watchers in the polling windows—these are the important features of the Tilden law. The "party" can give us all these without any law if it chooses. There is nothing to prevent. Instead of this, the Reform League watchers at the registration, who get into the rooms at all only with the aid of the courts, are assaulted and arrested. The request for copies of the lists is met with an emphatic and concerted refusal. All of our supervisors are selected from the dominant party. In a word, every arrangement is made, with brazen effrontery, to carry out the very fraudulent practices that the Tilden law was passed to prevent. Such a party we will not trust to reform our election laws. We will not listen to a party that publicly cheats, and refuses to stop cheating, but promises to pass laws to make itself honest. Let the party by its acts show some evidence of honesty; let its registration books be thrown open; let its Board of Supervisors contain a minority representative; let it give minority watchers in the polling windows, and then, and not till then, we will listen to its professions. Till it does these things, it must stand as a discredited organization, and its promise be treated as a hypocritical sham.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Last, but not least, we regard the position which the so-called Democratic party has taken on the subject of Civil Service Reform as a burning disgrace to our State. The odious "spoils" system, under which public office has been treated as the means of paying party and individual debts, the system under which a public officer is committed to a breach of trust before he is appointed to place, has flourished here in its rankest growth.

We have had the Mayor of this city not only presiding over what he calls a "governmental table," but seeking many of his guests from the gambling den and the very doors of the penitentiary. This system is the most demoralizing and debasing influence that exists to-day in our American life. Acting more silently, and therefore more insidiously, it reaches further and operates with a more corrupting power than all the recognized criminal agencies put together. It converts public office into a matter of bargain and sale. It creates a false and artificial distinction between a breach of trust in public office and a breach of trust elsewhere. High officials become from their position the apologists of the system, and the skilled teachers of a false morality, so that the system not only takes up and uses the ready-made criminal, but manufactures automatically its own supply of criminals as it moves along. The intelligence and honesty of the whole country have rebelled against this, and it is well recognized that it must be made to cease.

A President has been elected on the distinct promise that he would, so far as in him lay, urge the eradication of the spoils system. Other States have passed laws with this object. Platforms in nearly all of the States, and of both parties, have given pledges to the same effect. The "spoils" system the State Convention of the so-called Democratic party in Maryland has endorsed in terms. Equivocal and disingenuous in its utterance on almost every subject, on this it speaks with no uncertain voice. We do most solemnly declare that in taking such a position the Convention does not represent the people of this State, nor voice the sentiment of the Democracy. In no State is the feeling more intense; in no State is the spoils system more abhorred, or its evils better known, than in this ring-ridden commonwealth. We are in full accord with the intelligence and character of other States in our desire for a thorough Civil Service Reform, and we will not, if we can help it, suffer any party to rule this State that does not take the most advanced ground on this question.

Under these circumstances, we propose to pursue a practical course. We are engaged in the effort to defeat the so-called regular Democratic ticket in the State and city. To defeat it means to elect the candidates of its adversaries. It is idle to blind our eyes to that fact, or to make excuses to ourselves. If we refrain from voting the "regular" Democratic ticket, we do it to elect the Republican ticket. Every Democrat who stays away from the polls indirectly votes for the Republican nominee. The only difference is that this does not do the work as effectually.

Our "regular" opponents laugh at the half-way measures. If we are justified in voting for the Republican nominees indirectly, let us vote for them directly, make our votes tell, and our enemies respect us. We propose, as Democrats, to vote directly for the men who are running as Republicans in State and city. We shall do it without fear, and be fully responsible for our acts.

Fortunately, the Republican party has put itself in a position on State and city issues that will enable us to vote for its candidates with satisfaction to ourselves. It has named as candidates men of the highest character and intelligence. It has put forth a platform that is, on State issues, a model of directness and clear statement, meeting fully the demands of our situation. The so-called Democratic party has done neither. If the Republican party can secure its best men for office, and tell us in plain English what it means to do, and that which claims to be the Democratic party cannot, then we will give the Republican candidates a chance; and will send the pseudo-Democratic party into retirement until it rids itself of the evil influences by which it is now controlled; until it is again officered by Democrats, and its policy governed by Democratic principles; until a Democrat can again vote a party ticket without doing violence to his manhood or sacrificing his self-respect.

AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION.

A PUBLIC meeting of the citizens of Washington County of both political parties was held at Hagerstown on Tuesday, September 13th, which, the *Hagerstown Mail* says, "was attended by representative men from all parts of the county" to protest against the call of the Constitutional Convention. The following address and resolutions were adopted:

The people of Washington County, irrespective of party, in mass meeting assembled, declare their opposition to a convention to frame a new constitution. They regard it as entirely unnecessary, and burdensome to the people and contrary to the best interests of the State.

Article fifteen of the Declaration of Rights of the present constitution declares that "every person in the State, or person holding property therein, ought to contribute his proportion of public taxes for the support of the Government, according to his actual worth in real or personal property." Any defect or inequality which may now exist in taxation is due to legislation enacted in violation of this declaration, and can and should be remedied by the Legislature. No new constitution is needed for this purpose. All corporate property should be taxed, which can be done without violating the constitution of the United States. The Legislature can do this, and has as much power to do it as a Constitutional Convention could possibly have.

Article three, Section 40, of the constitution says: "The General Assembly shall pass laws necessary for the preservation of the purity of elections." Here there is not only authority but an obligation for the Legislature to enact such legislation as may be necessary to secure free and fair elections throughout the State. No new constitution could confer more power or make more sacred their obligation.

Whatever may be found by experience to be defective in the present constitution, provision is made by the fourteenth article of the same for amendment. This method is simple and attended with but little necessary expense. By it the people of the State can vote directly upon each amendment, and adopt what they approve and reject what they regard as vicious, and are not compelled to accept what they disapprove, as they must do in adopting a new constitution in its entirety.

The people of Washington County feel a deep interest in that great work of internal improvement, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and in its preservation as a public water highway. It has been repeatedly asserted that certain railroad corporations are ready to seize it and destroy it as a water highway, and thus bring disaster and ruin upon many of our people. We wish to guard against such a calamity with a jealous eye. The present constitution protects it from the hands of the spoiler, and prohibits the sale of the State's interest in it until said sale is ratified by the ensuing General Assembly.

The present judiciary system of the State has proven satisfactory. The people "have had justice and right, freely, without sale, fully without any denial and speedily without delay, according to the law of the land." The independency and uprightness of the judges, essential to the impartial administration of justice and a great security to the rights and liberties of the people, are recognized by all. To legislate them out of office by a Constitutional Convention and supply their places by dependent politicians would be a calamity too fearful to contemplate.

The expenses incurred in having a convention would, beyond question, be very large. First, there would have to be an election, with the attending expenses of registration, to select delegates to the convention; then the cost of holding the convention, with numerous officers and attendants, with no limit as to the length of time; the printing of the proceedings, and perhaps the debates, and the printing of the new constitution; then the holding of another election to vote upon the adoption or rejection of the new constitution; then another election to elect new judges and other officers, or elect them at an exciting Presidential election, which no good citizen would desire; and finally an extra session of the Legislature to enact laws rendered necessary by a change of the constitution. The expenses and cost of all these would be not less than five or six hundred thousand dollars, to be borne by the people, which would either require additional taxation, or a misappropriation of funds already collected from the people to pay the public debt. At a time when the agricultural and other interests of the State are suffering and heavy taxation already burdening the people, we most solemnly protest against this additional and useless burden.

In addition to all this, experience has taught us that by the holding of two or three extra elections in one year the industrial interests of the State will be seriously and detrimentally affected; and the turning out of all the officers of the State, including those who will be elected this fall, as would surely be the case if a new constitution be adopted, would be an injustice to the officers themselves and prejudicial to the best interest of the entire State.

In order to defeat a measure which can result in no good, but would impose additional taxation and be productive of much harm and be injurious to the material interest and welfare of the State, we earnestly call upon all citizens to unite with us in casting their votes against the convention.

We recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the people of Washington County request their

fellow-citizens of the respective counties and of the city of Baltimore, to organize and by their votes to declare against a measure not required by any public necessity, but necessarily attended with great expense and many possible dangers to the welfare and prosperity of the commonwealth.

2. *Resolved*, That in order to secure almost a unanimous vote in this county against the call for a convention to frame a new constitution, the president of this meeting be authorized to appoint a committee of six (three of each political party) in each of the twenty-three election districts of this county, to bring this important matter more fully to the attention of the people and to furnish them with the proper tickets upon the day of the election.

3. *Resolved*, That we call upon our fellow-citizens of the counties, of the State and city to appoint in mass meeting, or otherwise as they may determine, ten delegates from each county and each legislative district of the City of Baltimore, to assemble in convention in the City of Baltimore on the day of—1887, at 12 M., to formulate an address to the people of Maryland, expressive of their views in opposition to a Constitutional Convention, and to adopt such measures as they may see fit to enlighten the people on this subject and promote the objects of this meeting, the defeat of the call for a Constitutional Convention.

Resolved further, That the chairman of this meeting appoint ten citizens of this county to subscribe this and the foregoing resolution in reference to the call for a State Convention at Baltimore, and that the said call be published in the papers of Baltimore city and throughout the counties, and that the day for holding said convention in Baltimore be fixed by the chairman and secretary of this meeting.

The meeting adjourned subject to the call of the president.

MR. ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG'S OPEN LETTER.

MR. ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG, a prominent Democrat of Washington County, and a Democratic member of the last Legislature, has announced his intention to support the Republican State ticket in the following letter:

To My Fellow-Citizens of Washington County:

After the action of the late Republican State Convention, my earliest impressions were to give my support to the Republican nominees. Having been convinced by experience that it is best "to make haste slowly," I determined to wait until the nominees of the Republican party signified by letter their acceptance of the nominations. This they have now all done, and my apprehensions and conclusions in regard to the step I now take have become more decisive upon a review of political events as they are now transpiring.

The reasons which have influenced me to this determination are briefly these:

I believe that the politics of Baltimore City is thoroughly corrupt; that the will of the people in that city has been repeatedly subverted. It has been charged, and it is universally believed, that the present incumbent of the mayorship of Baltimore holds his office by a fraudulent majority. I can take no satisfaction in the success of my party, if it be reached by fraudulent practices, and being well satisfied that these practices do exist, I am constrained to express my abhorrence of them. When you tamper with the ballot, and thereby defeat the supreme will of the people, you undermine and destroy republican institutions.

In the elections in the counties of the State, except, perhaps, in Anne Arundel and Baltimore, which lie next the city, fraud is reduced to a minimum. Were it not for the use of bribery, freely resorted to by both parties, we could say that the elections are absolutely fair. In the city of Baltimore, however, it has been made apparent that the whole election machinery is subservient to fraud, and that under it the most palpable frauds on the suffrage have been perpetrated. At the last congressional election the developments have been startling. The time of the courts has been taken up in the trial of election judges and clerks. Convictions have been had, and these violators of the highest rights of the people are now imprisoned.

Reading with care and interest daily events, it is clear to my mind that it is intended at the impending election to bring about a fraudulent result. The registrars of the city have declined to permit representative citizens to be present in their offices to take record of their proceedings, and have with violent hands ejected them, and the court has been called upon to sustain so manifest a right. One of the registrars, a candidate for the Legislature in his ward, declined,

upon the most frivolous pretenses, to suffer a member of the Reform League to be present in his office to witness the registration of voters. Public attention has been drawn to the fact that he is the registrar and Legislative candidate in the same ward. Public sentiment has revolted at the impropriety of the situation, and yet this gentleman has neither resigned *nor been withdrawn*.

The registrars have not only sought to exclude Reform citizens from their registration places, but they refused on demand to furnish lists of names stricken off at the late sitting.

Read your daily paper from now on until the day of election, and you will find the courts in Baltimore City busy in striking off fraudulent names from the registration lists. The registrars have been applied to, and upon the clearest evidence that the parties are non-existent or non-resident, they have refused to strike them off, necessitating appeals and expense upon the city. And were the *whole time of all the courts of the city* lent to the work from to-day until the 8th of November, they would not be able at the present rate of progress to relieve the registration lists of their bogus names. What is the plain duty placed by law on the twenty registrars of the city has been thrown back upon the courts.

In the City of Baltimore, with its shifting population, all the registrars could accomplish in three weeks of their sitting was to strike off about two thousand names. In Washington County with about one-tenth of the registered vote, there were five hundred names stricken off. The reasons for the retention of these names upon the lists are open for the determination of every citizen.

Some friend tells me that all this may be true, but what have we to do with Baltimore City? My reply is that we have not so much to do with Baltimore City as Baltimore City has to do with us.

She can give us a fraudulently elected Governor, and through the exercise of his executive functions in the appointment of State officers the fraud will permeate every section of the State.

She can give us a fraudulently elected Legislature whose votes may shape and control every piece of legislation, local and general, that is submitted to the General Assembly. With her 21 votes thrown *en masse* for or against a measure, can we not see how she may affect the public weal?

These things acknowledged by men of all parties, how does the Democratic platform deal with them? The voters are beguiled by a resolution of generalities of the same kind and temper as those always introduced for "reform within the party." The Republican platform, on the other hand, is definite and clear. It speaks out upon this subject with emphasis, and gives something for the mind to rest upon. The latter has the ring of the true metal—it deals with present pressing issues. The former is pewter—it has no life or vitality in it.

But the Republican party has not rested upon its platform. It has given practical expression to it by nominating men, not of offensive partisanship, but men selected from the walks of private life—distinguished for their business capacity and experience—for their integrity and sound conservatism. Their letters of acceptance are plain, manly and straightforward, and give assurances that appeal to every true-minded and liberty-loving citizen in this crisis of our State's affairs.

Again and briefly, for I must not extend this letter further. Upon the constitutional convention question, the Democratic managers (I say managers, for I would not dishonor the Democratic party by holding it responsible for the doings of the late State Convention in Baltimore) have behaved in a most temporizing way. They have not declared for a Convention, although it is their overweening desire to have one, but in the face of a tremendous public sentiment against them, they have assumed that there will be a Convention. They give a hint to the strict party man as to how he should vote, without arousing the attention of the discerning.

On the other hand, overruling the natural suggestions of party instinct (for the present Constitution is the handiwork of the Democratic party and one of which they need never be ashamed), the Republicans have declared in an un-

equivocal way against the call. In view of the provisions of the present Constitution, furnishing ample means whereby at any time it may be amended, when the designs of the managers are reflected upon, a more wanton and wicked attempt to violate the rights and interests of the people I cannot conceive of. To invite the people to expend out of their moneys \$300,000 or more to change the organic law so that a pure judiciary in Baltimore may be got rid of and certain salutary provisions respecting the disposal of public works may be destroyed—to enable the State's interests to be voted away speedily, without inquiry and without information on the part of the people, is certainly an unblushing scheme.

As for myself, I accept the Republican platform, *where it deals with State issues*, in its entirety. I accept their nominees, and shall cast my vote for them freely and cheerfully, and should my services be considered of avail, I shall be glad to lend them actively in any way that may be deemed promotive of the success of their ticket.

ALEX. ARMSTRONG.

MR. JOHN K. COWEN'S LETTER TO THE SUN.
(Concluding Paragraphs.)

There are two resolutions, the *seventh* and the *ninth*, which refer to a new Constitution, by stating what the Democratic party will do when they get the chance to make one. The seventh is a thin, demagogic pretense, intimating what will be done for the "wage-earners," whose votes the "party" stole in the Labor campaign of 1886. The falsehood of this plank will be well ventilated later in the campaign. I do not, however, think the labor vote can be fooled by this trash. The *ninth* states that "it is the sense of the Convention that the present laws of registration and of taxation are as nearly complete as they can be made under the present organic law," and then pledges the party in the revision of the Constitution to make a requirement for a "more thorough system of taxation" and an annual registration. Here the author surpassed himself, and beat his own record. This plank is dishonest in what it affirms, dishonest in what it implies, dishonest in what it conceals. A worse system of registration than ours could not be devised. It is the procreant cradle of every fraud in the whole conspiracy. It lacks, among other essentials, which the Tilden law and every decent registration law provides, the following provisions:

1. Representation of both parties on the Registration Board.

2. The presence of watchers appointed by both parties at the registration, protected by express provisions. In 1885, and years prior thereto, there were added to the lists thousands of names taken bodily from the directories of other cities. These are found by the Reform League's examination to be often added in large blocks, and the persons named are proved never to have lived in the ward or city. As this is artistic work, I suppose it is what you referred to when you said lately that the lists supplied for the registers by the "regular" organization were more carefully selected than those of the Reform League. I suppose the work has been done "carefully." All this would be impossible with watchers.

3. The proper publication of the names registered and struck off, so that a printed list could be had by any one for a nominal sum. The mode now is to hang the lists up on a telegraph pole, sometimes upside down, and the provision for having them torn down is about as careful as that for putting them up.

4. The return of the lists in time to leave a chance to examine them before the election and find out the fraudulent names. These are but a few of the glaring defects of the system, and yet this "Democratic" Convention says "it is as nearly perfect as it can be made." It is pretended that a different system cannot be made, because the Constitution does not allow it. Every lawyer knows that this is not so, and is right in the teeth of a decision of the Court of Appeals. Are we to be told that a Convention that trifled

with this question, lied about the law, and hugged to its bosom the present monstrosity is fit to reform our election system?

How valuable is the "party's" promise is seen in the concerted action of the registers within the last few days, in attempting, under the "party's" advice, to eject from their "public sittings" the agents of the Reform League, who were present to watch their proceedings. . . .

You have attacked, without reason or evidence, the motives of my political action. Let us see how disinterested has been your political career. I assert that it has been time-serving and selfish always, and that you have never opposed with vigor any bad administration—Know-Nothingism, Republicanism, Democracy, or Gormanism—so long as you received what you demanded of it. In the days of Know-Nothing misrule, when the Democratic party needed the vigorous support of every real Democrat, the *Exchange*, right across the street from you, conducted by Mr. Wallis and other real Democrats, was mobbed time and again by the Know-Nothings, but your "Democracy" was never so offensive as to incur their anger. It was not of that kind. Your "plant" was as well protected then as now by the party in power. When the war came on, and outspoken Democracy again meant danger, when the *Exchange* and other Democratic papers were suppressed, you never gave trouble. When the City Ring, after the frauds of 1875, became more rotten than ever, you were silent and did the public printing. When Mayor Whyte took away the printing from you before the New Judge campaign, you were inoculated with virtuous indignation, and attacked Mr. Rasin and Mayor Whyte as vigorously as you now support them. Whyte was beaten. Gorman came into power. The city printing was restored. You were silent again. Gormanism—the combining and organizing of the city's different criminal elements for mutual advantage—became a feature of our city, and, in a measure, of our State politics, but even as it grew your perquisites grew also, and the national printing was added to the rest. Though controlling a great public journal, you have never entered protest against this blot of blood and grease upon the history of our State and City. You did assume a somewhat menacing tone on the eve of the late convention, when it seemed likely that Baughman would be dropped, and so Baughman was not dropped entirely. Is it too much to say that your protest is never heard unless some perquisite or other is being taken from you? "Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the ox over his fodder?"

Has this not been your case? And now, for some time past, you have been the apologist, open or silent, for the most disgraceful régime that the city ever knew. Election after election has been carried by barefaced fraud. The city's pay-roll is gradually assimilating to the police records. Murder, pure and simple, is recognized as a political service to be rewarded in both national, State and municipal appointments in the persons of Trust, Busey, Buchheimer, Koenig, Burke, Kennedy and Goodrich! Think of the list! Seven murderers! A host of others, known to us all, who have not taken life, but only tried to do so—Owings, Carter, "Butch" Murphy, Mike Murphy, and a long list—swell the roll and disgrace our city. A murder is planned and carried out with sensational deliberation, merely to stop a bolt in an important ward. The "party" shows its hand in the attempt to get rid of the State's witnesses, made by a man high in its councils. Nineteen men of criminal record draw pay from the city for their evil activities in one ward. Twice does Governor Lloyd allow the ballot-boxes of this city to be looted, and, in spite of the scandal, has a third time refused minority representation on the board. His supervisors twice fill the polling-places with judges from the very scum of the earth—men whose bleached faces tell you, as you look in the polling-places, that they are of the class who sleep by day and not by night—the spawn of the brothels and small gambling dens of the city. Three supervisors, degraded for all time, resign under the storm of popular wrath (that never found voice in your columns). All these take place, and much more of the same kind, and you never protest. Is it possible for us not to connect your silence as to all this with the fact

that you have both City, State and National printing? Is it this that silences your protest against this saturnalia of blood and crime? Such is the common report. I do not say that it is true—I should dislike to believe such a thing of any journal—but *if* it be so, if that be the consideration for your support of such an abomination, verily, it comes within the old Levitical prohibition—it is “the hire of an harlot and the price of a dog.” Such is your time-serving record; such is your “Democracy.” Along with you, claiming to be the Democratic party, are men whom the party never could find in its hour of peril—Gorman, a Republican during the war and proscription era; Rasin, purging his Know-Nothing record in quiet retirement till the struggle was over. Are you and they entitled to pass upon the Democratic loyalty of those who give strength to the present revolt? George Wm. Brown, who went to prison; Wallis, who was with him; the ex-Confederates, so many of whom are Independents that some one has found it necessary to warn them in your columns that the party did not need them; Charles Marshall, the close friend and trusted adviser of General Lee; Snowden Andrews, whose many wounds tell the same story of his leonine bravery that you hear of him from every Confederate. They and the long list of those who followed their Democratic sentiments to their most radical conclusion under Jackson and Lee cannot have their standing as Democrats questioned by an association of political trimmers, whose only relation to the Democratic party has been that they have fed upon it. Such men have earned the right to criticise the party management. They may act independently, for such men can act in no other way. The Democracy that took men into the Southern army is better than that which takes men to the lobby and the Custom House.

I, in this canvass, have nothing to do with the rights and wrongs of that struggle. I was only a boy when it took place. Right or wrong, it was the most dashing and gallant the world ever saw. It is the presence among us of these men and their class, men of fiery conviction, alienated from your trading organization, that has given such fierceness to the attack of the Independents hitherto. Whether all will be with us again in the present fight I cannot say. *It looks as if we would not miss a man.* We hear of no one who hangs back. Every day they drop in. The signs are that all will be on hand. The spirit of independence is stronger and fiercer than ever among its followers; their great leader, who was a Democrat when I was unborn and you were uncertain, whose name has stood so long for all that is pure and noble, the most eloquent of all Marylanders, is again at their head, and “the shout of a king is among them.”

It is a grim fight that you have on your hands. Many of your choicest spirits are in the penitentiary; its yawning portals are opening for more, and already, as I write, its dark shadow is projected over your guilty registers. That is the kind of a fight it is. Do you think that the sham issues that you have started, the refuge of lies behind which you have hidden, will stand before the storm that you are about to meet?

Respectfully,

JOHN K. COWEN.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

[From the Frederick Union (Dem.)]

THE most vital issue to the voters of Maryland, laying aside the question of honest elections, which is undoubtedly involved, is the question of a new constitution, and it is to be considered at the approaching election in November next. Of necessity the issue is an important one, and should be well understood in all its phases. If the constitution of a State under which the people have lived and prospered for twenty years is a good one, then it is but the part of wisdom and prudence, before any man votes for the calling of a convention to create a new constitution, to look at and examine carefully the objections offered against the present, and the reasons for a new fundamental law. The tampering with and completely overturning of the constitution of a State is a dangerous experiment, and can only be urged when the interests of the people and the interest of free and honest government demand it. It cannot be denied that the

convention of 1867, which framed our present constitution, was extraordinary in the character and ability of its members. The men composing that convention met under such circumstances, and with the benefit of such recent experience, as to enable them, in an eminent degree, to adopt a wise, conservative, and well-nigh perfect organic law, that has stood the test of years. The men composing that convention gave to the people of the State the best constitution it has ever had. If there were no other reasons why a new convention should not be called, the fact, that in the present state of corrupt influences in State politics it would be next to impossible to elect such a convention as that of 1867, would be sufficiently potent to defeat the scheme.

But why should we have a new constitution? Why should we change the present excellent one for an uncertainty? Shall we have a new constitution simply because we are required to vote on the question every twenty years? What are the reasons which justify the voting down of the present constitution? Shall we spend three hundred thousand dollars of taxes just for a change? As a sensible people we ought not only to have good reasons, but strong and pressing necessities before we undertake to change the whole organic system of our State, particularly when it involves the expenditure of so large a sum of money. Before the people vote for the calling of a convention to frame a new constitution they want good and sufficient reasons why it should be done, and they will not be satisfied with flimsy pretexts.

The Democratic State Convention did not declare for a new constitution, but only by innuendo gave pretexts for one, hence the party is not pledged to support the calling of a convention. This is not a party question and cannot be made one, no matter how hard Gorman, Rasin and their followers may try to have it appear as such. It is a question that should and does come home to every taxpayer, voter and citizen in the State, who is interested in an economical and good government. We do not need a new constitution to have honest elections and honest registration in Baltimore City. Such a claim is a mere pretext. There is nothing either in the letter or spirit of the present constitution which prevents an annual registration and honest elections in Baltimore City. It is not by the constitution, but in spite of it, by the appointment of dishonest and corrupt registrars and judges of elections, that makes elections in Baltimore corrupt and but farces. The constitution is good and the laws are sufficient. The trouble lies with the corrupt and dishonest public officers who do not execute the laws.

What the people want are reasons why we should change our fundamental law, and not base pretexts. If it is desired in order to strike down the present honest judiciary, why don't the friends of a new constitution say so? If an independent Court of Appeals is wanted, that is an argument. If it is desired to change the system, from election as now, to appointment by the Governor, that will be a reason. These we could meet, but we cannot meet pretexts, except by branding them false. Up to this time the taxation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad property was the principal pretext, but since John K. Cowen's letter it has proved so transparent that the author of the pretext, the Baltimore Sun, has repudiated it. If an independent Court of Appeals is a necessity, that can be adopted by an amendment to the present constitution. So with every other question. If there are any changes in the present constitution that the times demand, or if there be any new features which should be added, they can all be accomplished by amendments. The present constitution makes ample provision for such alterations whenever they are found to be necessary. That can be accomplished at very little cost, and a half million dollars saved.

We have been unable to find any legitimate reasons for a new constitution. Mr. Gorman says the “people want it,” yet the representatives of the Democratic people of Maryland did not declare so when they were assembled in State Convention, and the Republican Convention, representing the Republican citizens of the State, declared against it. If the people wanted it, or if the Democratic party wanted it, why did not the convention of which Mr. Gorman was the master spirit say so, in plain unmistakable language? The

truth is, the bosses, and not the people, want a new constitution. They do not want an independent Court of Appeals, but a *dependent* one. It is the independence of the present judges that is the chief objection of the bosses. Mr. Gorman wants to "get rid of the present judges," particularly in Baltimore City, where his election judges and clerks are being put into the penitentiary, for he so told Mr. George Colton. They want to strike down our incorruptible judiciary, and fill the benches with men who will do their bidding, and save their tools from behind prison bars. The legislative and executive branches of our State government are dominated by these bosses, and now an incorruptible judiciary, that stands as a barrier to the spoiler and corruptionist, is to be taken from the people, and their rights placed still more at the mercy of the violent, the lawless and the criminal. Let all good and true citizens be careful, lest by voting for the calling of a convention to frame a new constitution, they may sow the wind and reap the whirlwind.

FOR ANNUAL REGISTRATION.

[From the Baltimore American (Rep.)]

SECTIONS 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the Reform League election law are among the most important in the act. They provide for annual registration in the city, and for quadrennial registration, with annual revisions, in the counties. In both city and county the judges of election are to be officers of registration; and the original registration books are to be used at the polls. No one now attempts to deny that annual registration is an essential condition of fair elections. The investigations of the Reform League, and the observation of every intelligent man, have made it clear to every one that our present system, even if it were honestly administered, would make frauds at the polls easy. Every year about two thousand registered voters die. Probably twice as many leave the city. At least six or eight thousand move from the precinct in which they are registered to some other ward or precinct. No register, no matter how well disposed he may be, can keep up with all these changes. At the present time, nearly, or quite one-half of, all the names on the registration lists are those of persons who are not now living at the places from which they are registered. In six wards of this city alone, the Reform League this year are able to prove that there are on the registration books the names of seven hundred and fifty dead men. In the city as a whole, therefore, the number of dead on the books is not less than twenty-five hundred, or more than all Mayor Hodges' returned majority. There were, at least, twice as many names in the same six wards, the owners of which could not be located. The people residing at the places

from which they were registered either had never heard of them at all, or knew nothing more about them than that they had once lived at the place, but had gone years before—where they could not tell. These names were often not to be found in any city directory published since new registration began. In other cases they had disappeared from the directories some years ago. In a great many instances the legal evidence necessary to get such names off the lists cannot be obtained. The people living at the registered address have been there a very few months. They do not pretend to know anything about their predecessors. The directories throw no light on the matter. Then there are numberless cribs, dives and low lodging houses, the proprietors of which register all their chance boarders. When attempts are made to get these names off the books, the keepers of the places come forward and swear that their lodgers follow the water, or are engaged in some other occupation which takes them from the city for long periods together, but that whenever they come to town they stay with them. This testimony is sometimes true and sometimes false. It is never possible to prove its falsity. The presence of these names on the books gives to repeaters the best imaginable opportunity. Nobody knows the men who legally bear the names on the lists, if any one, in fact, does. A rounder can, therefore, safely personate them, and they are personated at almost every election. If registration was annual, there would be no opportunity for these names to collect upon the books. It would be possible, of course, to colonize the repeaters for the registration and election, but this would be, if carried on on a large scale, both very expensive and very dangerous. By adding a few new names every year, the keepers of some of these dens have finally managed to get twelve, fifteen, twenty, and even thirty men registered from houses in which not over five or six persons could possibly sleep. All these facts are patent to every one. With the desire on the part of the regular Democrats as strong as it now is to hold on to their more decent party associates by pretending to be reformers, and in face of the universal opinion in favor of annual registration, it would seem that either the managers would profess to be its advocates or else would give a sound reason for opposing it. Unfortunately for them, sound reasons for such a course do not exist. Favor annual registration they do not dare, because they know, as no one else can, just how much of their strength in this city depends upon the registration lists being kept in their present condition. They are, therefore, compelled to get up the most plausible pretext they can for postponing annual registration indefinitely. It shows the desperate straits to which they are reduced in this matter that they are not able to offer anything better than Mr. Gwinn's constitutional quibble, and in that they cannot get anybody to believe.

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THE Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. III. — No. 11.

BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

Lombard Investment Company.

An Act in addition to and in amendment of an Act relating to Trust and Investment Companies and enlarging the powers of the Bank Commissioners.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

SECTION 1. Every corporation heretofore or hereafter organized under the laws of this State, whether by special charter or otherwise, which has power to and does sell or negotiate its own choses in action, or sell, guarantee or negotiate the choses in action of other persons or corporations, as investments or as a business, shall be under the supervision of the bank commissioners of this State, and subject in that connection to all the laws relating to the examination and report of banks, savings banks, and trust companies. Said commissioners, in an annual report of these corporations to the Governor of this State, shall clearly describe the various classes of assets and liabilities of each and state any special provision which has been made for the payment of such liabilities.

Approved May 18, 1887.

In compliance with an act of the Legislature of Connecticut placing companies dealing in Western mortgages under the control of the Connecticut Savings Bank Commissioners, the LOMBARD INVESTMENT COMPANY renders the following statement, audited by A. B. Mygatt, ex-National Bank Examiner for Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Statement at the close of business June 25, 1887:

RESOURCES.	LIABILITIES.
Mortgages and bills receivable.....\$1,969,086 05	Capital fully paid.....\$1,000,000 00
Overdrafts.....1,114 92	Reserve.....150,000 00
Expenses and taxes paid.....107,545 38	Surplus.....100,000 00
English consols and Pennsylvania R. R. sinking fund, sterling gold bonds, at par.....8,700 00	Undivided profits.....990,673 56
U. S. Government 4 per cent. and 4 1/4 per cent. bonds, at par.....45,000 00	Debentures.....492,350 00
Union Pacific R. R. first mortgage 6 per cent. bonds, at par.....12,000 00	Interest paid by borrowers, awaiting presentation of coupons.....48,894 93
Boston, Concord and Montreal 7 per cents., at par.....5,000 00	Loaning funds, awaiting investment in Lombard Investment Company securities, account English and American clients.....462,521 15
Other stocks and bonds.....49,545 85	
Cash with company's bankers:	
Martin & Co., London; Maverick National Bank, Boston; National	
Broadway Bank, New York; Chase National Bank, New York; Central	
National Bank, Philadelphia, and First National Bank, Kansas City... 340,447 44	
	\$2,538,439 64

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

I hereby certify that having examined the books of the Lombard Investment Company, the above statement is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

A. B. MYGATT,
Deputy Examiner appointed by the Board of Bank Commissioners
of the State of Connecticut.

In his report to the Bank Commissioners Mr. Mygatt says:

I visited Boston and Kansas City, and made a careful examination of the affairs of said company at the request of its officers, and also in the official capacity of Deputy Bank Commissioner, under the Act passed by the last Legislature of Connecticut, relating to Trust and Investment Companies doing business in that State.

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VOL. III.—No. II.

BALTIMORE, NOVEMBER, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

THE Bosses and those citizens who from personal interest, prejudice or partisanship were willing to answer to their roll-call at the recent municipal election, need not doubt the still unshaken courage and determination of the thirty thousand voters who then followed the banners of reform to an honorable defeat. The leaders of the cause of honest government who for fifteen years have struggled through good and evil report to secure to our people the enjoyment of the political rights guaranteed them by their constitution and their form of government and who have been beaten back time and again by the fraudulent majorities cast against them, are not likely to be dismayed by a defeat which to their enemies was so costly a victory. We shall dwell upon the recent contest only long enough to profit by a study of the facts and figures connected with it, and hasten resolutely to the next field of battle. It is too early yet to say whether or not Mr. Latrobe was elected by the votes of the people. A great number of specific cases of fraud have been brought to our attention, enough indeed to prove organized raids upon the ballot box, but we have not yet been furnished the specific proofs which will justify us in announcing with confidence that Mr. Bartlett was fairly elected. We have not overlooked, indeed we are heartily glad to admit, the high character of the judges of election whom the bosses were forced by an indignant public opinion to concede to the people. That concession in itself was a tribute to the vigilance of the Reform League, but the indications are that the closing of this avenue of fraud only forced the enemy to concentrate their frauds upon the registration lists, while it unhappily served to make many honest people suppose that the ends of reform were to some degree assured.

A COMPARISON of the votes cast respectively for Bartlett and Latrobe with those cast for Cleveland and Blaine, and again with those cast for Hodges and Brown, makes it reasonably certain that a great number of fraudulent votes were cast by repeaters. These frauds were perpetrated with honest judges behind the windows and expert challengers for the Reformers in front of them, without many repeaters being detected or challenged. The explanation is simple enough. The election returns show that out of a total registered vote of about eighty-six thousand, less than sixty-six thousand votes were cast. Over twenty thousand names were not voted on at all. From this enormous number—over twenty-three per cent of the total vote—the repeater could choose at his pleasure. If the precincts are carefully blocked it is the easiest matter in the world, out of twenty thousand names to select five thousand or more of persons who registered many years ago from boarding houses and nooks and corners of the city and who have never been seen or heard of since. Take for illustration the fourth precinct of the Ninth Ward. It is a neighborhood frequented by “birds of passage”—men who will live a year or more in some obscure lodging house and then depart for regions unknown. In five years such a man will pass out of the memory of the few persons who ever knew him. The judges and challengers have in all likelihood never

heard of him. Suppose now a man residing in the opposite part of the city, or in the adjoining county if you please (it is unnecessary to “import” repeaters), who is equally unknown to both judges and challengers, presents himself and gives the name and registered residence of such a voter. It may be known to the challenger, if he has made a careful examination of the precinct, that no such man resides at the registered residence, but the fact being equally well known to the repeater, he is prepared for it. By what process will the fraud be detected? Suppose now (and the supposition is certainly not more remarkable than the admitted facts) that five thousand names were illegally voted on at the last election. It would only be necessary to believe that twenty-eight, instead of, as the returns show, over twenty-three per cent of the registered names were those of dead, absent or spurious voters. The possibilities of fraud under our present registration system being therefore absolutely unlimited, to say that the last election was fair is simply to hazard an assertion which it is as yet impossible to disprove.

BUT if the figures do not definitely prove that Mr. Bartlett was defeated by fraud, there can be no doubt in any fair mind but that they are a new help to show that Judge Brown was elected two years ago. A simple analysis shows that over twenty-eight hundred of the votes returned for Mr. Hodges were spurious. Take, for example, the second precinct of the thirteenth ward; the previous election judges of which have been convicted through the efforts of the Reform League. Cleveland received 198 votes in this precinct, and Blaine 130 votes. Latrobe received 197 votes and Bartlett 132 votes. *Hodges received 305 votes to Brown's 148 votes!* Is not this practically conclusive proof that Hodges received a fraudulent majority of over 100 votes from this precinct alone? The Council election of 1886 was admittedly carried by gigantic frauds, and many of the judges and clerks of election who were responsible for them are now in the city jail. Have our masters suddenly reformed? Why should it be supposed that this last election has been any fairer than those which preceded it? People were as loud in their claims that Hodges had been fairly elected as they are now in claiming that Bartlett was honestly defeated. We have already shown that the opportunities for fraud offered by the defective system of registration are simply unlimited. What reason is there to suppose that they were not used? However honest the judges of election may be, they can never be a complete defense against fraud: their character and presence may even seem to divert attention from certain of its forms. Some people have supposed that because, after tremendous efforts and the expenditure of great sums of money in investigations, the Reform League has forced the appointment of good judges, therefore the Ring has purged itself of this matter, as though it would not require equal efforts to get honest judges from a dishonest organization all the time.

AND yet this state of the registration lists is the result of registration laws which the Democratic State Convention declares “are as nearly complete and accurate as they can be made under the present organic law.” That is to say,

unless the constitutional convention is called, of which we hope there is now but little probability, the Democratic party has publicly announced that the present corrupt law, which was drawn for fraudulent purposes, and which, as we have shown, makes it possible for the Ring to carry any election, however large a majority is to be overcome, must remain on the statute books without change. This is a vital matter, so let us weigh our words carefully. The wording of the plank in the Democratic platform, to which the Democratic members of the Legislature are pledged, and by which they ought certainly to consider themselves bound, is that the present law is so perfect and accurate that, unless there is another constitution framed, it will be impossible to make it any more perfect or accurate. That is certainly the answer of the party, officially and solemnly announced, to the popular demand for better election and registration laws. What other construction can be placed upon the words than the one with which we have clothed them? We cannot repeat the question too often: *Is not the Democratic party in effect pledged not to change the present corrupt registration law unless the convention is called?* And yet even Mr. Whyte said at Towson, "The defects in the registration system no man will deny." Mr. Poe declares, "I will not deny that frauds at elections have been practised in our midst, and that some change in the existing laws is necessary to prevent their repetition." And again, "I admit that frauds as complained of have been committed." Mr. Jackson writes, "Annual registration in Baltimore City is desirable and necessary for protection against fraudulent voting." Now what are we to understand from this situation? It is everywhere admitted that the present registration laws are hopelessly impotent to prevent fraud, even by persons who will not admit that they were framed for the specific purpose of rendering fraud easy. The Democratic party is definitely and solemnly pledged against their reform. Is not this the true dilemma, and is there any escape from it? If any attempt has been made by the Ring orators to make a way of escape, the newspapers have not recorded it.

WE have not forgotten that Mr. Poe, in direct opposition to the pledges of the party of which he professes to be so loyal and obedient a member, has undertaken to promise that, in spite of its pledges to the contrary, it will, through him, sanction the passage of a new registration law. Let us use his words: "I am here to-night," he said at the Concordia meeting, "to say to you that as the man honored (*sic*) by the Legislature of 1886 with the task of codifying the laws of the State and proposing amendments for adoption, I shall submit . . . the Reform League election law, *with some modifications designed to free it from a plain and palpable constitutional infirmity* and make it more effective, . . . and I mean to go to Annapolis next winter and to stay there until it or a better law prepared by some one else is passed." The law proposed by the Reform League is both an election and registration law, and the leading and vital feature of it is the provision for annual registration in Baltimore City and quadrennial registration with annual revisions in the counties. Mr. Poe has recently announced, in response to a demand for a bill of particulars, that the "constitutional infirmity" to which he refers is this provision for annual registration in the city and quadrennial registration in the counties. The League's reason for making the distinction between the city and counties was simply because (to quote

again from the Democratic candidate for governor) "annual registration in Baltimore City is *desirable and necessary*." It is neither desirable nor necessary for the counties, nor do the circumstances there justify the great expense entailed by it. Therefore, when Mr. Poe announced that the "constitutional infirmity" would be cured in the law he would propose by a provision for annual registration in both city and county, he knew well enough he was proposing what legislators call "an amendment to kill." Whether Mr. Poe, to use his own words, possesses "sufficient character, intelligence, and independence" to be trusted with so important a law we need not discuss. His political history and associations had answered that question before he ventured to ask it.

WE entirely agree, therefore, with the editor of the *Evening News*, that "the demand for a new and better election law is beyond doubt the cardinal issue of the next election," and as we but rarely agree with Mr. Poe, we must hasten also to endorse his statement, that "of course there can be no difference of opinion among honest and decent men anywhere, without regard to party differences, that the freedom and purity of elections are of the essence of a democratic form of government, and that without them it is worse than a mockery." Since Mr. Poe has been chosen as the Ring's sponsor to renounce for it "the world, the flesh and the devil," or, in other words, cheating at the polls and lobbying at Annapolis, it is but becoming that we should notice what this great and good man thinks of ourselves. He said at the Concordia:

My friends, bearing in mind the way in which my relation to this subject has been dealt with by Mr. Cowen, and by that miserable disseminator of falsehood and vituperation which monthly pours its leprous distilment of impotent malice amongst its painfully small body of subscribers, and which, under the wretched misnomer of the "CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER," is bending its puny energies to the ineffectual task of wheeling this State into the Republican column, where the reforms it so ardently affects to cherish will be sure to bloom with rare and radiant beauty, I might well be excused for declining to consider anything owning such a parentage.

So far as we remember, the only action on our part which could call forth this burst of chaste and lucid diction from our discreet and elegant critic has been the "leprous distilment" which we have "poured," whenever the occasion offered, upon the measure known to the ungodly as the "Poe Job." Some "miserable disseminators of falsehood and vituperation" have the "impotent malice" to say that Mr. Poe, without consulting his professional brethren or seeking their approval, and before the Legislature of 1886 had convened, secured from the Bosses, as a reward for his services in promoting Mr. Hodges' fraudulent election, a pledge that he should be appointed codifier of the State laws. It is further wickedly pretended that the county members at first indignantly repudiated the measure and that it was at first defeated by a large vote. Mr. Poe hastened to Annapolis, as he promises to do again this session; and this is the account given by the Hagerstown *Mail*, a pronounced Democratic organ, of his conduct there:

All the machinery of the compact lobby, promises, persuasions and pleadings, appeals from the beneficiary friends, verbal, epistolary and telegraphic, the suave sociability of the codifier, and even the interested presence and favorable expressions of prominent gentlemen not members, and a rather unusual and ambiguous letter from the codifier to the House as to the cost to the State, all combined to secure a false verdict in favor of the Poe Code at the very dying hours of the session.

Mr. Poe calls this being "honored by the Legislature of 1886"; the "leprous" call it something else. He thinks it proves his fitness to reform our election laws; we confess to a different opinion. And we must admit that our moral depravity forbids us to believe that Mr. Poe's efforts to secure the election of the Legislature selected by the Ring are entirely due to his solicitude for the re-election of President Cleveland. The next Legislature will pass upon the acceptance of Mr. Poe's Code and fix the sum which he is to receive for his compensation. While he is "remaining at Annapolis" to see his emasculated election law safely defeated, he may just possibly find time to look after his own interests.

PASSING now for a moment from the commanding issue of honest election and registration laws to the minor personal issues of the pending election, let us simply state the facts. The Ring's candidate for Governor, Mr. Elihu E. Jackson, has defined his political position, entirely involuntarily, but with singular clearness. He has announced his adherence to the monstrous constitutional quibble which has been invented by Mr. Gwinn to deny to the people an annual registration in Baltimore City. If elected he will veto the Reform League election law, if by any means Mr. Poe cannot prevent its passage. That fact of itself ought to secure him the hostility of every friend of a pure ballot box. But his course in the State Senate of 1886 proves that he is in entire accord with all the corrupt purposes of the Ring, and that he will heartily co-operate with it in its efforts to secure the corrupt legislation from the next Legislature which it sought in vain from the last one. Two instances will suffice. The test vote on the Early Call Bill, which even the Baltimore *Sun* was unable to stomach, was taken on February 12, 1886, in the Senate on an order of Senator Lane's "to continue the discussion every day until a vote was reached." The Senate journal shows that Mr. Jackson voted in the negative. The test vote on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Bill, perhaps the most corrupt and obnoxious of all the measures before either house, was taken in the Senate on March 30, 1886, on an amendment of Senator Hodson's which practically killed the bill, as Mr. Poe's amendment is intended to cripple the election law. Mr. Jackson voted in the negative. This is record evidence which cannot be gainsaid. The Grand Jury Bill and much of the other corrupt legislation never reached the Senate for a vote, but Mr. Jackson was known as consistently supporting all of the Gorman-Rasin schemes. What folly, then, to prate of Mr. Jackson's "independence"! What honest man can deny that by voting for Mr. Jackson he votes for and endorses all the corrupt jobs which Mr. Rasin and Mr. Gorman have in view?

OF the Ring's candidate for Comptroller we have spoken at some length elsewhere. We hope that his defeat may be effected, whatever may be the result in regard to Mr. Jackson and Mr. Whyte. The people of Maryland have not yet shown themselves willing to vote for a man publicly charged with a crime and apparently unable to clear himself. Between Mr. Baughman and Mr. Dixon, the latter a man of fine abilities, spotless character and progressive and generous disposition, who can hesitate? The State's Attorney's office is the key to honest elections and the punishment of political crimes. Can any man truthfully say that Mr. Gans is not the better man for the place? Is there a single charge against Mr. Gans to-day but that he has faithfully and in-

telligently discharged his sworn duty? And is there any doubt that all habitual criminals and their habitual advocates desire Mr. Kerr's election? Give the Ring the State's Attorney's office and your election law may be as honest as you please for all that election criminals will fear its penalties. And what comparison can be made between Mr. Sheppard and Mr. May for the important office of Sheriff? Is such a man as the former, or the friend of John F. Weyler and the patron of "Butch" Murphy, the more likely to remove from the sheriff's office such deputies as the men implicated in felonies or responsible for failures of justice who now disgrace it? Let our people squarely face their duty. The Republican ticket is made up of honest and trustworthy men, with absolutely no evil political associations, and chosen without pledges or undertakings further than to administer their offices in a fair and non-partisan way. No one can truthfully contend that they do not better represent the integrity and manhood of the State than the nominees of the Ring. If it be true, as the *Evening News* says, that the leading issue at the pending election is the passage of honest election and registration laws, can any one doubt which party has the right side of it? The Republican party is pledged to give us the Reform League election and registration laws within thirty days after the convening of the Legislature. The Democratic party is pledged not to give us any different registration law from the present corrupt law until after a new constitution is framed; that is to say, not at all. Our people have their future political prospects in their own hands.

THE PERILS AND DUTIES OF THE HOUR.

EXCEPT those who may agree with the Democratic statesmen and orators upon the stump, that President Cleveland and Jay Gould are the only present issues in Maryland politics, we presume that nobody imagines the real issues which concern us to have been determined, in any way, by the result of the mayoralty contest. To us, in Baltimore, that contest was indeed a momentous one, involving as it did the maintenance or overthrow of the corrupt and blasting scheme of municipal patronage, by which, more than all other agencies together, the power of the Ring for evil has been consolidated, upon the ruins of free suffrage, in our city. To a very large extent the interests of the people of the State have been bound up with those of our own citizens, in the struggle between honest government and political prostitution in our municipal affairs, and it is obvious, of course, that the difficulties which stand in the way of a thorough and final purification of the ballot box have been multiplied and made more formidable by the defeat of Mr. Bartlett. As to the true significance of the returns by which Mr. Latrobe is declared elected we do not now propose, because we are in no sense prepared, to express a definite opinion. Nor indeed can any such opinion be justly or properly ventured, by any one, at this time, or until an analysis shall have been made of the very remarkable vote in its details, and a more thorough investigation be had into the circumstances and surroundings of the election, in all the precincts, than is possible in the midst of an excited canvass still depending. It has only been by the protracted and laborious efforts of the Reform League and its agencies, at great expense and under every sort of embarrassment and obstruction, that the frauds of previous years have been gradually discovered and exposed; and it is only by like effort, as laboriously persevered in, that the real significance of the recently

announced result can be made patent to the people. THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, from its first issue to the present, has inflexibly adhered to the rule of making no charges which it was not prepared to substantiate on the spot, and of stating no deliberate opinions, for which it had not reasons sufficiently cogent to justify its judgment. Acting with this reserve, we shall now content ourselves with stating the problem which the recent election has presented, to be solved hereafter.

According to the returns, and accepting them for the present as importing verity, Mr. Bartlett received 30,332 votes, or 1665 more than the vote for Judge Brown in 1885. In the last named election, Mr. Hodges was counted in by a majority of 2230, and no more, over Judge Brown. In other words, the vote returned for Mr. Hodges only exceeded, by 565, the vote which Mr. Bartlett received on the 26th of October. Every one remembers the vigor of the Hodges-Brown campaign, the enthusiasm upon both sides, the excitement and the struggle. The pride of a portion of the mercantile community was enlisted in it by the choice of one of their number as a candidate, and they formed an effective association of their own, outside of the regular organization, and contributed to the extent of their ability, influence, and money, as never before in a contest remembered in this city. And yet, with all this unwonted and extraordinary effort and with the aid of extensive frauds, "inside the window" and without, too glaring and notorious to be any longer the subject of dispute, the majority, as counted, reached only the small figure just now stated. How, then, it has come to pass that Mr. Bartlett, with a vote of 1678 larger than Judge Brown's, should have been defeated by a majority of 4495, or a little more than double the majority (2230) of Mr. Hodges over Judge Brown, is the mystery which the future must penetrate—and to the future we leave it. It is enough at this moment to realize the fact, that for yet another municipal term the reign of Mr. Rasin is prolonged in Baltimore, with all that such a reign involves, and that the Weylers, the Kittinghams, the Buchheimers, the Buseys, the Murphys, and the Thorntons are to represent "the fair fame" of our city at home and abroad. Happily, neither the Mayor nor the City Council, nor their appointees, nor all together, have the fate of Maryland in their hands, and it remains for the good people of the State, in the election which is now approaching, to crush forever the conspiracy which has taken the name of the Democratic party in vain and has seized upon its banner to fight against its principles. It is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the issues which are before us, or to state too strongly the duty of every true man in so momentous a crisis. Now, as in 1860, the people of Baltimore, defeated in their local efforts to purify the ballot box and give to the suffrage the security of wise and stringent laws, stretch forth their hands to the whole people of the State and call upon them to do the work of deliverance. The appeal was not made in vain at that memorable epoch, and we have an abiding confidence that it will be answered as nobly and as generously now.

We have said that the issues of the hour are too momentous for exaggeration. Who that will stop to reason can fail to realize it? That years of corruption, under the worst and vilest practices and methods of the lowest class of politicians, have demonstrated the necessity of a stringent reform in our system of registration and election, is conceded upon all hands. No one now ventures to insult the people by denying it. It was denied with shameless audacity, only a little

while ago. Every charge that it existed was denounced as "vituperation" and "vilification." Proof after proof was sneered at and belittled as fast as it appeared. As late as the campaign of 1885, so respectable a body as the "Business Men's Democratic Association of Baltimore City," in a formal address to the voters, signed by its president and secretary, did not hesitate to proclaim that "the cry of fraud is without real foundation," and "the spurious cry of reform without real meaning." The "charges of fraud" made by the Reformers, the address proceeded to denounce as "partisan and groundless." In this present year of our Lord, at the meeting of the Democratic State Central Committee, in the address of the chairman, Mr. Gorman and the resolutions of the committee itself, the frauds and concerted crimes of Ring officials, before and since demonstrated in the courts, were pooh-poohed as the insignificant "irregularities" of a few irresponsible "individuals." Even after the holding of the primaries for the late Democratic Convention, this very season, the Baltimore *Sun*, the organ of the Ring and its most effective and worthy coadjutor, had the gigantic assurance to characterize as "stale slanders," all the talk of the Reformers about "corruption and machine methods in Maryland politics"! And yet, to-day, not only are these "stale slanders" adopted and recognized, everywhere, upon the hustings, as the basis of the remedial policy and purposes which the Democratic Ring is hypocritically parading, but it is actually made the virtue of that party to have found out the abuses which it so indignantly denied, and to have pledged itself to legislation which shall end them. So far from doing anything towards ferreting out the frauds which have been dragged to light, the Democratic organization and its representatives have done everything to prevent their detection and throw discouragement and obloquy upon all engaged in their exposure. Are we to forget the judicial disclosure of the damning fact, in the mandamus case against the late Supervisors of Elections, that the very records of the Board of Supervisors were destroyed *by the advice of counsel*, and that every attempt at investigation into the official conduct of the Board was parried and obstructed by technical device? Are our eyes to be shut to the fact that the very counsel, by whom the conduct of those Supervisors was defended and sought to be justified, are now the most conspicuous—one of them the most effective—of those who proclaim it from the stump, as the duty and the exclusive mission of the Democratic party, to reform, by stringent and upright legislation, the very abuses which those very Supervisors practised and denied? Let any man lay his hand, if he can, upon one single fraud, or even one single "irregularity," which the Democratic organization has ever discovered or disclosed—or confessed, till now—or assisted in bringing to light or justice. Has the *Sun*, with its vast wealth and enormous influence, ever contributed a single farthing, or one word of encouragement, towards the investigation of election frauds or the conviction of those who committed them? Has it not on the contrary held its hand upon its purse, and all the time endeavored to discredit the motives and bring into contempt the labors of the Reform League and of all others who have been patiently and at large cost engaged in doing the good work of investigation for the people? Have the large pecuniary resources of "the party"—so prodigally dedicated always to the primaries and the elections—been taxed one single cent for the detection or the punishment of election crimes? Has Mr. Jackson, who could afford \$5000 "for

the primaries," ever parted with one copper for the cleansing of the ballot box? Has the organization ever been heard of, except upon the side of the wrongs which it now suddenly affects to have found out and to be burning with patriotic zeal to right? We respectfully request to be referred to any efforts of Mr. Bernard Carter, or Mr. Pinkney Whyte, or Mr. John P. Poe, or even Mr. Henry Page, in behalf of the vindication of the right of suffrage. If the right hand of either of these gentlemen has disclosed any labors of the sort to his left hand, the latter has certainly kept it the profoundest of secrets, down to this hour. No! But for the efforts and struggles of the Reform League and its agencies—but for their untiring and self-sacrificing energy and perseverance, through good report and through evil report—it is absolutely safe to say that the frauds which they have unkenneled would not only have continued to be denied till now, as they were until the disclosures of the League made it impossible to deny them longer, but every man who suggested their existence would have been pilloried as a profligate "traducer." To the League and to the Reformers who organized and have supported it, the State of Maryland owes all, to-day, that it has before it, of hope or promise for the re-establishment of the suffrage in its integrity. But for the reports of the League and the publicity given by them to the shameful facts which they disclosed, the people would have been kept in ignorance, as before, of the details of a system of which they had previously known nothing except its iniquitous results and its power. But for the Reform party, we should have had no judicial exposures and no criminals brought to justice. We should have continued to have Hudgins and Magers and Boyd as Supervisors, if the notoriety given by the League to their offenses had not shamed even the Governor, who had refused to remove Thornton, into the necessity of a concession to decent public opinion. We should have had the stump orators of the Ring patrolling the State to-day, as in 1885, with the cry that the charge of fraud in the elections of Baltimore was a malicious and baseless falsehood. Instead of that we have now the entire organization making a merit before the people of half recognizing what it dares not deny, and claiming the support of good citizens because it promises to remedy, out of the abundance of its virtue, what it never admitted to exist until denial had been made preposterous.

Here then, as we see them, are the issues—the pregnant, momentous issues of the hour. Are there or are there not great evils to be remedied—evils which have eaten like a canker into the very vitals of free government in Maryland? That there are, no one has now the effrontery to dispute. Can the people, in the exercise of the commonest prudence and intelligence which would guide them in their private affairs, entrust the cure of those evils to the hands of the identical men who have brought them upon us, who depend for power upon their maintenance, who have refused to recognize their existence until they could not help it, and only promise to reform them, as an electioneering clap-trap, because they could not otherwise look the people in the face? There is not an intelligent man of business in Maryland who would not say No! without a moment's doubt or hesitation, if it were his own private and personal interest or affair. And is there any more sacred or precious interest, for any man, than the freedom and purity of the suffrage, upon which the rights and security of property are as dependent as the highest privileges of citizenship?

We have said that the men who are now behind the

Democratic ticket, and whose power depends on and will triumph with its success, are the same identical men to whom we owe the curses of misgovernment which have been upon us heretofore. Does any one deny that Mr. Gorman nominated the Democratic State ticket as actually and effectively as if he had done it under his own hand? Does any one deny that he and Rasin, and two or three more of the like, hawked the nomination for the Mayoralty round about among the counting-houses and finally nominated Mr. Latrobe, precisely as if they had been appointing a clerk or an attorney? No one is childish enough to dispute these perfectly well known, indeed undisguised facts. Do the antecedents of the candidates themselves inspire any confidence in them as possible antagonists of Ring government? Surely Mr. Whyte has no very promising record of that sort. He is—if any one man is—the very parent of machine government in Maryland, with all that such government has brought and signifies. Mr. Baughman surely must be a practised and imperturbable comedian, indeed, if he can venture to pose as the representative of purity in elections, after the exposure of his practices in Frederick, made by General Johnson, repeated by the *Frederick Union*, and now reduced to demonstration, as it seems to us, by the letter of Mr. Cowen, which we publish in this issue. Mr. Jackson's career in the Legislature of Maryland was one of as conspicuous subserviency to Gormanism and Ring schemes and methods as that of any member on whom the Ring could always count. His support, at the last session, of the worst and most obnoxious measures of the Ring—measures which not even that Legislature could stomach—defines his position and characteristics, if they need definition. Are we to look to these gentlemen, or any of them, for that sympathy with the reform of the evils that beset us, without which no genuine reform is possible? Are we to seek the friends of honest reform in the house of its bitter and long recorded enemies? Are we to trust a Legislature nominated and elected by the same influences which nominated such a State ticket, for upright legislation to save the ballot? After all, it is the Legislature that must pass the laws, and there must be a Governor who will see them executed. Not even the solemn guaranty and pledge of so controlling a person as Mr. Poe can regulate the "action" of the General Assembly, to whose mercies, at last, the Democratic platform consigns the law which it promises. Who, that has any experience, can fail to see how absolutely all individual pledges and responsibilities on the subject can be merged and got rid of—and will be got rid of if necessary—under cover of the "action" of the Legislature? "We did our best," it will be so easy to say, "but, of course, the Legislature would do as it pleased, and how could we help it?"

In view of these things—too plain, it seems to us, for plausible cavil—there is but one resource, for men who desire to see the suffrage once more purified and supreme among us, and that is the support of the Republican candidates. Not because they are Republicans, for that would be as silly as to look for relief to the Ring candidates because they are Democrats; but because they are pledged, solemnly, and upon their personal good faith—not to loose schemes and generalities, with delusive legislative "action" to fall back on and excuse them—but because their platform and their personal faith both pledge them to the adoption, within thirty days, of the identical law, prepared by the Reform League, which the Reformers themselves would pass if they were in the Legislature and controlled it. To the keeping of this pledge the Republican candidates are bound, too, not only

by their honor, but by their interest and that of their party. The Republican party is out of power in Maryland. If its strength increases, if it should ever control a majority of votes in Maryland, it can still never be other than a minority party, unless it has a free ballot and a fair count. Whatever future hopes it may have are absolutely dependent upon its being protected by laws under which the majority shall rule. Its promises, therefore, are guaranteed, as we have said, by all its interests and hopes.

We have left ourselves no room to dwell upon the Civil Service plank of the Republican platform, so absorbing in its interest and importance to all who not only desire political reform, but realize that without a competitive system, in both National and State appointments, it is idle to hope for relief from the demoralizing and disintegrating influence of the doctrine of the spoils. It is enough, however, to remind our readers that the platform of the Maryland Republicans is with them on that vital issue—that of the Democrats offensively against them.

The momentous question of the proposed Constitutional Convention has been treated by the Ring with its accustomed audacity and duplicity. It has not been made a formal platform issue, so that "the party" may not be held responsible for its defeat, if it is beaten, or weakened by its unpopularity where it is unpopular, but it is advocated and pressed by all the leaders, on the stump, with an urgency beyond all other pressure in the canvass. In fact, every one who knows anything knows that it is really the one actual and practical measure, in which the Ring are more interested than all others put together, and without success in which their mere election of their candidates would be more than half a defeat to them. We all know what a constitutional convention means. We know that it means, to begin with, an enormous expenditure of the money of the taxpayers. We know that it means an utter overthrow of our existing administrative system—an expulsion of all present incumbents from office, in order to fill their places with hungry Gormanites and Higinssites. We know that it means the substitution of a more pliable judiciary for that which has so well and impartially done justice and maintained right among our people. We know that it means, especially to us in Baltimore, the unseating of the judges, whose impartiality and courage have been the sheet anchor of private and public right among us, and without whose fidelity to duty the exposure and punishment of political crime would have been impossible. We have the testimony of Mr. Colton to the fact, that at the last session of the Legislature the early call of a constitutional convention was urged on him, by the Ring, because it was essential to get rid of the judges in Baltimore "at once." That the same feeling and purpose exist now, even more spitefully and strongly than then, is demonstrated by the almost daily utterances and insinuations of the Ring, its orators and organ, in disparagement of our local tribunals, because of their honest administration of the laws. In one word, the purpose of the proposed convention is, that the Ring shall capture the State and—for all political ends and all the money and office and profit that can be got out of the ownership—shall own it.

Any Democrat who shrinks from the duty of preventing this and the duty of meeting the other great issue which we have discussed, like a man, because he fears that he may be branded as having "gone over to the Republicans," is bound, sooner or later, to have a painful settlement, of some sort, with his self-respect and his conscience.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

HOWEVER grievously the friends of honest government and pure politics may be disappointed by Mr. Bartlett's defeat, it justifies neither discouragement nor recrimination. Wisdom after the event is notoriously cheap; and when the management of an intensely exciting and desperately contested campaign falls unavoidably into the hands of men without political experience, it is reasonable as well as charitable to expect some errors of judgment. To dwell upon these would serve no useful purpose: we prefer to point out some of the more obvious lessons of the election. First among these is the refutation of the absurd pretense that honest and competent men could not be obtained as judges and clerks of election. Notwithstanding some cases of individual misconduct, and without anticipating the results of more careful inquiry as to certain precincts, it is but just to say that the great body of judges and clerks discharged their duties as satisfactorily as could be reasonably expected of them in view of our defective registration and election laws. When Governor Lloyd was forced by the irresistible pressure of public opinion to seek supervisors of a different type from Thornton and Magers, he found them; and when these sought out judges and clerks unlike the nominees of those worthies, their search was equally successful. In 1885 and 1886 the judges and clerks were chosen to cheat, and the supervisors to select such judges and clerks, and all did their allotted tasks; this year the supervisors were chosen to do their duty, and selected officers with the like purpose, and again both classes fulfilled the end of their choice. The "calumny and vituperation" of which Messrs. Magers and Hudgins complained so feelingly, and which the *Sun* so indignantly denounced, in nowise deterred respectable men from accepting the positions they abandoned, nor pursued these successors afterwards. The present supervisors have not been abused, simply because they have not deserved to be; similar conduct would have secured similar immunity to their predecessors. Even under our present laws honest judges and clerks of election can be found, provided always that they are wanted.

The election has also shown what can and cannot be expected of the police under a partisan board of commissioners. They did little or nothing to check illegal voting in the interest of the dominant party, but they fully and easily preserved the public peace. Without depriving them of whatever credit may be justly due them, it is, we think, indisputable that their task was much lightened because the Ring's stipendiaries knew that in the event of a resort to organized violence force would have been met by force, and that the stern and even fierce spirit which had been aroused among Republicans and Reformers would have rendered any repetition of the outrages of 1875 no "picnic" to the roughs engaged in them. The Baltimore political ruffian, whose life is passed alternately in the city's service and in the dock of the Criminal Court, is a brute as ferocious and noxious as disgraces the century; he is, however, by no means careless of his personal safety.

"That is no war, each mortal knows,
Where one side only deals the blows,"

but it is the only kind of "war" which suits these heroes. Last Wednesday likewise proved (what, indeed, hardly needed further proof) that the election of 1885 was a mere mockery. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this is furnished by the returns from the second precinct of the tenth ward. As is well known, a committee of our best citizens protested against the man selected two years ago as return judge for that precinct because he was the reputed proprietor of a gambling house and a brothel, and Dr. Thornton replied "that he did not think these facts disqualified a man to act as a judge of election." In 1883 the vote of the precinct had been for Latrobe 175, for Heiskell 155; in 1884, for Cleveland 217, for Blaine 181; the judge whom Dr. Thornton refused to remove in 1885 made it give 214 votes for Hodges and only 140 for Brown; for this he was duly rewarded by a place in the Water Department.

This year the judges had not his qualifications, and perhaps could not hope for his recompense; the Democratic

vote fell, therefore, to 174, and the Republican rose to 165; Hodges' preposterous majority of 74 being thus reduced to 9. In like manner Hodges' majorities of 1009 in the ninth and 606 in the seventeenth wards fell off to 750 and 483 respectively, while in the second ward the majority was almost exactly the same, being 1078 in a total vote of 2885, against 1057 for Hodges in a total vote of 2819. The last fact, which seems at first sight to contradict our statement, in reality strikingly confirms it. For, while in the second ward the two votes were practically identical, there was a Democratic gain in the first of 138, in the third of 336, in the fourth of 200, in the fifth of 287, in the sixth of 435, in the seventh of 391, and in the eighth of 937. In all the other wards lying wholly or mainly east of the Falls the Democratic majorities increased enormously, for reasons to be considered later. In the second, Hodges' vote could not be improved upon, because in 1885 the peculiar abilities of Mr. Fritz Buchheimer had found there such opportunities for their untrammelled exercise.

It is also significant that in the second, ninth, tenth, and seventeenth wards the registration lists had been partially purged through the exertions of the Reform League, and to this the heavy reductions in Democratic majorities were unquestionably in some measure due. In the thirteenth ward the purification of the lists was more thorough, and Hodges' majority of 555 was reduced to 269 for Latrobe, although Bartlett's vote only exceeded Judge Brown's by 34. It is not surprising that repeaters and their employers hate the League, and that this hatred finds voice in the papers they pay with public printing to circulate falsehoods. Without the League there would have been no semblance even of fairness at the late election. That we have reputable supervisors is due solely to the prosecutions it conducted, and its exposure of the former board. Magers and his colleagues were fairly driven from their places, and the Governor was forced to fill these differently by the scandals which the League brought to light. In like manner, although our registration lists are still loaded with spurious names, and Baltimore is still a land of promise for repeaters, the League has done much to render these evils less intolerable, while thousands of citizens have been saved by its vigilance from disfranchisement at the hands of shameless registers. In this work it has obtained help from no public officer; impediments have been continuously thrown in its way, and its action and motives have been persistently misrepresented by the most prosperous and best known paper of the city. Such hostility is not indeed for the League very formidable, and is in any event inevitable, but the citizens of Baltimore will imitate those foolish sheep who dismissed their watch dogs to please the wolves if they allow the *Sun* or those it serves to persuade them that they can safely dispense with the Reform League until they have other laws and other public servants than those furnished by the Ring.

We hope that this election has further shown the folly of expecting aid in struggles for reform from the very men whose livelihood, whose liberty even, depend upon a continuance of existing abuses. It is simply childish to count upon help from this or that boss because he is supposed for one reason or another to be more or less disaffected towards his fellows. One of these may indeed be so maltreated by his over-greedy brethren as to turn against them for a moment, and even co-operate with Reformers. Such assistance should be accepted and utilized, but never expected or bought. The mere fact that a portion of the Ring's following supports him weakens a Reform candidate, more perhaps than professional politicians can understand. Judge Brown had sent "Doc" Slater to jail, and no one could even pretend to believe that he gained the latter's support in 1885 by any form of understanding or concession; but the knowledge that Slater men intended to vote for Brown undoubtedly weighed upon the consciences and dampened the enthusiasm of not a few Reformers. This year the returns are decisively significant as to this. Whatever mysterious hints may have been given to over-credulous amateurs in political intrigue by the many busybodies of unsavory antecedents whom a political campaign always brings forth from an uncongenial obscurity, we have had to

fight this year the Ring, the whole Ring, and nothing but the Ring. If the endorsement of certain Independent candidates for the City Council by the Republicans was designed to procure for Bartlett Democratic votes which would have been otherwise cast for Latrobe (which, be it well understood, we do not in anywise assert), the design failed signally. In the third and fourth wards the majority against McCready was 84, that against Bartlett 1030; in the fifth and sixth that against Meehan was 254, that against Bartlett 461; in the eighth that against Bartholomai 892, that against Bartlett 1135; the malcontent ringsters proved quite bright enough to swallow the jelly and spit out the pill; nor can we say that we regret this.

The real moral of the election, however, is the enormous influence which, under the open or covert application of the spoils system, an unscrupulous political manager may derive from control of the public patronage, Federal, State, and municipal. That public employes in the Post Office, Custom House and Internal Revenue Department were remorselessly assessed may or may not be provable, but does any sensible man doubt, or any candid man deny it? The similar taxation of State and City officeholders is as undisguised as that of the candidates themselves, and the vast corruption fund accumulated by these methods and others equally immoral bought impunity for repeaters and abstention or complicity from the class of voters, already deplorably large and steadily growing in all our large cities, for whom the suffrage is only a source of income. To cure the depravity of venal citizens may be hopeless, but with Civil Service Reform embodied in the law of the State and made a reality instead of a sham in our local Federal administration, this depravity would be far less harmful. Until we have such a reform, our elective offices may cease to be the prizes of fraud only to become the subject-matter of bargain and sale.

This feature of the late election, repulsive enough in itself, is, after all, the most encouraging for that which is so soon to come. So lavish an expenditure can hardly be repeated so soon, or, if repeated here, must leave some parts of the State unfurnished with the agencies of corruption. There is good reason to believe that great as are the resources of the Ring, last Wednesday wellnigh exhausted them, and, although this justifies no false security, it may well spur conscientious citizens to renewed efforts. A desperate attempt will undoubtedly be made to impose on us the constitutional convention through which the late outlay may be repaid, but the prospects for this are discouraging, and we doubt if the well known treasurer of the Grandmother's Fund will shave a large note payable out of its prospective profits. The Bosses say "Another *such* victory and we are undone." By simply doing their duty, honest men will make certain that another victory shall cost them no less; and may, if fortune favors at last a good cause, transform their late costly triumph into the prelude of an irremediable overthrow.

PHENOMENA OF RING POLITICS.

THE last few days of the canvass preceding the Mayoralty election were marked by several incidents so extraordinary as to deserve attention from a student of the science called by an eminent author "Comparative Politics." It has been customary for the Democratic managers to employ a few venal colored men in each campaign to organize movements intended ostensibly to promote the special interests of colored citizens, but really to draw votes from the Republican party. This has been done so often that it has come to be a matter of course; and when the time-honored trick was again tried this year, the only cause for surprise was that men so shrewd as its authors should care to spend money on anything so threadbare. But when it was shown that one of the three men put forward to thus hoodwink their brethren had been arrested in 1882 for organizing a band of black repeaters in the interest of a Democratic candidate, and had made and sworn to a full confession implicating a lieutenant of police and a fireman as parties to the plot, all of which had been then published at great length in a special supplement to the *Sun*, his selection for this purpose would seem to a man of ordinary moral

sentiments almost incredible. This wretched criminal, when his revelations had caused the indictment of the two officials concerned and threatened to involve others, was furnished with bail and disappeared as soon as released from custody. Owing to his absence the prosecution of the more influential prisoners failed, and when this had been accomplished, although the man had confessed his guilt and forfeited his bail, was a fugitive from justice and absolutely certain to be found guilty if tried, the State's Attorney (a candidate for re-election) entered a *nolle prosequi* in his case, writing the order with his own hand and giving no reasons! Mr. Kerr has lately been at great pains to answer some strictures upon the management of his office which, on the worst construction, imputed to him laxity and extravagance; he has not attempted to explain the abandonment of Cross's prosecution. This, however, concerns him: what we would note is the fact that, to the literary bureau of the Ring, Cross's antecedents seemed no disqualification for prominence as an adviser to his race. We have no doubt they thought this in perfect good faith. The political influence of many prominent men in the Democratic party was first gained through complicity in election frauds: Morris Thomas was but an obscure ward worker until he was accused of ballot stuffing in 1875.

This incident was immediately followed by a yet more remarkable campaign device of the managers. Two days before the election, Mr. Stevenson Archer, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, announced that "the enemies of the Democratic party" were importing repeaters from Philadelphia and elsewhere, and begged the police to look out for them. The story was received with general incredulity and some derision, but the city detectives thereupon summarily arrested more than fifty persons and charged them before a police magistrate with being "suspicious characters," but adduced no evidence of any kind to show that they were such. The magistrate thereupon sent them all to jail, kept them there until after the election and then discharged them, the police having at a second hearing failed again to offer a scintilla of proof that the men had committed or contemplated any offense whatsoever. Meantime the Democratic newspapers, especially the *Sun* and *News*, published sensational descriptions of the arrests as confirming Mr. Archer's warning, and showing that the Republican Committee had brought repeaters to the city; there being no semblance of warrant to even suspect anything of the kind. The affair will, we learn, form the subject of judicial inquiry, in consequence of a number of suits brought by some of the aggrieved parties for what certainly seems at first sight an outrageous abuse of authority and gross license in the press. We therefore forbear further comment on these aspects of it, but it is startling to find that the personal liberty as well as the reputation of any man whom Mr. Gorman and his lieutenants may wish temporarily out of the way is at the mercy of policemen and magistrates willing to help in manufacturing evidence to bolster up a discreditable partisan calumny, and that such prostitution of public functions is deemed legitimate party service. What is yet more remarkable, however, is that men of intelligence and reputation should affect to believe, as many of them did, so preposterous a story as that of the alleged importation of Republican repeaters, and even let it influence their votes. We have never pretended to think Republican politicians more scrupulous or disinterested than their Democratic brethren, but the most dishonest man can be trusted when he has no opportunity to cheat, and to make any beneficial use of repeaters a sympathetic police and an ample supply of money are indispensable. To suppose that a party would resort to them with no public servants to assess and with every policeman a volunteer challenger for the other side is for a grown man a demonstration of imbecility: to talk and act as if one thought so, while really incredulous, is conduct at once so irrational and so unconscientious as to be scarcely consistent with sanity.

But the climax was capped when Democratic newspapers and speakers intimated, and some of their hearers or readers believed, that Jay Gould was the prime mover in the Reform campaign. There was, of course, no proof of this furnished—it was not even categorically alleged—but

some people worked themselves into a frame of mind so abnormal that they credited and acted upon a fable as ridiculous as any story of Munchausen. Had it been pretended that the Emperor of China was backing the Maryland Reformers, one might have said that there was after all no reason why he should not support them as readily as their opponents; but even this cannot be said of Jay Gould. That eminent "Napoleon of Finance" has given to the public his code of political morality in saying, with a slight paraphrase, that "he is a Republican in Republican States, a Democrat in Democratic States, and a Jay Gould man everywhere": or, in other words, that his influence in politics, when he cares to exert any, is used impartially to benefit the party or faction which can do most to advance those vast schemes of stock gambling to which his life is devoted. Reformers of all kinds and everywhere are his natural enemies, and if he were a factor in Maryland politics at all it would be unquestionably as a member of the Ring in good standing: very consistently, the local counsel of that huge monopoly which he controls is Mr. Charles J. M. Gwinn.

The comparative success of this monstrous fiction undoubtedly shows what an enigma to the friends of the Ring, and we fear to many who are not its friends, is a man like Mr. Cowen. We are so unaccustomed to manliness, disinterestedness and patriotism in our public men, that a good portion of the community regard the exhibition of these qualities as something uncanny and suspicious. That Mr. Cowen should make sacrifices, incur bitter hatred, give time, money, and labor, only to attain ends in which he has no greater interest than any other citizen, is simply incredible to those who assume every one to be selfish and time-serving. The only explanation of his conduct which occurs to them is that he is paid for it, and since he fairly silenced the *Sun's* mendacious insinuations that the Baltimore and Ohio dictated his course, these paid slanderers of the Ring have substituted Jay Gould as his employer, trusting with some reason to the marvelous credulity of their dupes.

But for this credulity there is a cause of wider application. We are not prepared to say in general that

"No doubt the pleasure is as great
In being cheated as to cheat,"

but we do say that many reputable men among Maryland Democrats really wish to be deceived during a political campaign. Their principle of action is to "vote for the devil if he is the regular nominee," but its application requires an occasional soporific for their consciences. A time-honored formula for this medicine is, "Oh well! there are rascals on both sides," and they are ready to accept before election any absurd story which, by emphasizing the truth of this sentiment, may blunt their perception of its irrelevancy. A week after the election they will laugh at the inventions which have aided their self-deception, but these will then have done their work.

A DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE ON THE RING.

MR. ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG'S SECOND LETTER.

To my Fellow-citizens of Washington County:

Since the writing of my previous letter, published in the columns of the county press, so many and so various have been the expressions of opinion in regard to my course by those of my fellow-citizens whom I highly esteem and who have honored me in the past with their confidence, that I venture to put forth the matters contained in the present letter as more clearly expressive of the attitude I occupy in the impending State canvass.

I do not believe that I am out of sympathy or out of line with the teachings and the principles of the great Democratic party, while I may be with the managers, who, by skillful and dishonest political manipulations, are controlling its destinies in the State of Maryland.

May I define my beliefs, as against those held by the present management in this State?

I believe that the government of this State should be administered for the good of all its citizens.

The managers believe that the State government should be administered for the good of themselves and their camp following, whom they call "the party," and that the faithful ones—faithful in the sense of working for the perpetuation of the power of the Ring—should have "seats at the governmental table."

I believe that there should be the fewest possible offices in the State, consistent with an efficient public service.

The managers believe that there should be the largest number of offices for their retainers, and that if they do not exist, they should be created for distribution. They never abolish offices. They are always willing to create them.

I believe that the salaries of public officers should be graduated according to those that are paid for similar services in private business.

The managers believe in getting salaries up to the maximum, and in raiding the public treasury by payment of officers specially created for pay, or for services nominally rendered, but which are of no use to the public.

I believe that the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal should be maintained as a waterway—as a competitive route to the seaboard from the coal mines, and I believe it can be so maintained; but if it is not possible to so maintain it, then, considering the millions of dollars of the State's money invested in it, that it should be disposed of with the utmost care and to the best possible advantage to the State.

The managers announce that the canal can no longer be maintained as a waterway, and thereupon they plan to close it out to themselves upon the best terms they can, regardless of the State's interests.

I believe that there is no need of a constitutional convention; that whatever changes are required in our organic law can be satisfactorily arrived at by amendments submitted to the people; that the expenditure involved in holding a convention is, therefore, a reckless waste of the people's money.

The managers believe that it is a good time to placate many of their following, who, clamorous for office, could not be reached in the distribution of governmental positions; that the disbursement of \$300,000, more or less, from a full treasury would go that far towards satisfying a horde of hungry office-seekers.

I believe in the sanctity of the ballot; that every legal voter has one vote and no more; that he is entitled to cast it freely and without intimidation from any source, and that it should be counted *once* and no oftener; that the names of dead men should not be voted on, nor of those who are absent or in any other way disqualified.

The managers believe in getting as many votes in the boxes as they can, and in arriving at results by the ballots in the boxes, and not by the honest votes as they are cast; that they will take an election result favorable to themselves by fair means if they can, *by foul means if they must*.

I believe that the election machinery should be contrived, from the registration to the count, to bring about freedom and fairness in the suffrage and an honest result; that there should be representation given the minority at every stage of the election procedure.

The managers believe that the election machinery was devised in the interest of "the party," and should be run to accomplish the ultimate and continued success of "the party," and that therefore it is essential that the minority should not be represented.

I believe that while public officials should be free and unconstrained in the exercise of their election rights, they should not be called upon to surrender nor employ their time, their talents, or their means to bring about the success of the ticket; nor should they be permitted to use their official station to sway the result.

The managers believe that all public functionaries should pay liberally from their official incomes, to aid the success of the ticket; that they should spare neither time nor pains nor money to influence the result; and when officeholders are recalcitrant in these particulars, and fail to respond to assessments laid upon them for party purposes, they are to be driven from their positions for contumacy, to make place for those who are more subservient.

I believe that the members of the party should be per-

mitted to conduct their primaries, assemble in convention, deliberate and frame their tickets free from the dictation and bossism of those in official place.

The managers believe, and they exact that every officeholder should busy himself at the primaries; that he shall make up a ticket in the interests of the machine, of which he is a part, and that he shall lend himself to elect that ticket; that he shall be himself a delegate to the county convention, or send there those whom he can control, and that he shall exert his energies to send representatives to the State Convention who will simply register the edict of the bosses, that has been passed and announced long before.

I believe that legislation should be the outcome of careful and conscientious deliberation by the representatives of the people, when brought together in the General Assembly at its biennial sessions.

The managers believe that legislation is an article of merchandise, to be bargained for, and sold out before the meeting of the Assembly, and to be traded upon during its meetings; that it is the legitimate prey of the lobby, where the managers reign supreme.

By these principles and beliefs I am willing to be measured, to determine whether I am to be regarded a Democrat or not. If what I believe is Democracy, then I am a Democrat; if what the managers believe is Democracy, then I am none.

I do not stop here to contend and prove that my utterances in regard to the views of the managers are true. I assume that every intelligent mind has accepted them.

Need I refer to the fact that the session of the last Legislature was expended in debates over the constitutional convention question, upon the bill known as "The Early Call Bill," and in the efforts by all manner of committees, and by all manner of means, to get control of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, by avoidance of the plainest terms of the constitution; while an election law preferred by the Reform League of Baltimore, for the obtaining of purity at elections, was considered at one meeting of the committee of elections, out of slight deference to the gentlemen who presented it, and was then placed in the waste basket?

Need I seek to prove, in view of what transpired at the last Legislature, and of the desperate fight over the "Early Call Bill," that the managers desire a constitutional convention? The platform indicates it, and later, Mr. Jackson, the nominee for Governor, in a letter to the people, has declared for it. Mr. Gorman has spoken for it, and Mr. Compton has likewise done so. Whyte and Baughman close up the ranks.

Need I discuss with you the frauds at elections in Baltimore City; the registration lists crowded with the names of the dead and with those long absent and unknown; names placed upon the lists by fraud in years gone by; lists taken by wholesale from directories of other cities and catalogues of medical colleges; 3700 names asked to be stricken off in six wards of the city—400 over and above these having already been stricken off in one ward alone, after a refusal by the registers to remove them; the sessions of the courts (five judges) now daily engaged in the business of removing these fraudulent names; the activity of the registers in displacing Republican voters; the indignities visited upon those who ventured to be present at the office of the registers in the interests of fair registration; the catalogue of election crimes which have been exposed in the courts of the city during the last summer; the studious manner in which the registers and their counsel at this very writing are resisting every effort to get the registration lists purged of fictitious names, creating technical defenses to gain delay and leave the lists unpurged until the day of election. Need I say more?

Fellow-citizens, what value do your ballots have if they are to be neutralized and overslaughed by a fraudulent vote in Baltimore City? Suppose we defeat the call for a constitutional convention in this county by an overwhelming majority—as would seem to be indicated by present public sentiment—and our legitimate majority is overreached in Baltimore by a vote in favor of a convention—wholly fictitious and simply the registry of fraud. Let me say to you,

that every illegal ballot cast in the city of Baltimore next November will be cast for a constitutional convention; and that convention may thus be assembled at the will of a minority of the citizens of Maryland—aye, more and worse than that—if they can sustain the call for a convention by fraud, they can sustain any constitution that may be promulgated by that convention by the same means.

It has been said that my only reason for supporting the Republican State ticket was, because I believed that the elections in Baltimore City would be fraudulent. This is not strictly true, and unintentionally, perhaps, does not do me justice, as any one who reads this letter will agree; but I do say that the question of fair elections is the paramount issue; that it is the burning issue in this campaign, and before it all others pale and fade away.

Seeing these things, believing them, and realizing that they have endangered and are endangering the safety of the State, am I to be no better than an idol worshipper, to cast myself down and be run over by the Juggernaut of party power? Am I no more than one of a chain-gang, to be moved by the impulse of a party whip?

I appeal to you, my fellow-citizens, I appeal to your integrity, your manhood, your patriotism, to condemn by your ballots the condition of affairs that prevails in our State. I appeal from "Philip drunk to Philip sober," from party passion and prejudice, to the calm reflections of pure-minded citizens, to that higher and better Democracy where abides the hope and security of the people. ALEX. ARMSTRONG.

COLONEL BRYANT TO MR. ARMSTRONG.

A CAROLINE COUNTY DEMOCRAT ON THE EVILS OF RING RULE.

Col. J. W. Bryant, a prominent Democratic member of the Caroline County bar, and widely known in the State, has addressed the following strong letter to Mr. Alexander Armstrong, on the political situation in Maryland:

"Hon. Alexander Armstrong:

"My Dear Sir:—I think the Democratic party of Maryland should rejoice that there can still be found among its representative men one at least who refuses to follow, *for a sentiment*, the bosses and leaders of Maryland to a dishonored grave or an unworthy victory. With Mr. Dennis and other honorable men, I held an official relation with the Oratorio Hall Democratic meeting held in Baltimore City last February. With Mr. Dennis and others, we then charged that under cover of the Democratic party many frauds had been practised, through a series of years, in Baltimore City, and the conviction of a score of judges and clerks of election, by impartial Baltimore City juries, establishes beyond question that half the truth had not been told, nor half the frauds at the ballot boxes revealed. We protested in the name of an outraged sense of public justice, and that our political leaders, chargeable with these great wrongs, should be disowned and dishonored by that party, to the maintenance of whose principles of honesty and good government we had given a lifetime devotion.

"How were our appeals considered? We were told 'that we were at heart the severest enemies of the Democratic party, seeking only personal and political aggrandizement,' and they made our *best endeavors* for honorable party success the subject of ridicule and opprobrium; and they called us *impracticals*, saying that the practical politics of the party in power required that elections in Maryland should continue that party in office forever; that Democratic faith and loyalty required of every voter submission to bribery at the primaries and stuffing of ballot boxes at elections; that all means were justifiable, if necessary, to keep Democrats in office and Republicans out. We have become alarmed at so much practical politics, and at last begin to realize that our prejudices are stronger than our patriotism.

"I remember many grievous wrongs visited upon the citizens of Maryland by the Republican party during the war; and now, when the poisoned chalice is returned to their lips, and the Democratic party, by wholesale bribery, ballot-

box robbery and fraudulent registration, is disfranchising Republicans, I am sure I am as heartily ashamed of such a party as they have ever been. I feel sad, as a Democrat, to see my party descend to such a state of political degradation, for I remember that in Maryland it was once a high honor to be a Democrat. Is it really so now when so many political iniquities, charged and proved, are upheld by those in authority? How long, think you, sir, that the proud, sensitive men of Maryland will approve and continue in power and place these party leaders who make merchandise of those great principles of Democratic liberty that have given enlightenment and law to the State and nation?

"If the Republicans in New York, for the best interests of their State, could vote against Judge Folger and for Governor Cleveland, why can not Democrats in Maryland illustrate their virtues and vote for Mr. Brooks and against Mr. Jackson? For it is self-evident that our people are not free unless they can change their rulers. Are we free in Maryland when men who call themselves Democrats rely upon corrupt means to retain their party supremacy?

"The election of Mr. Brooks would remove for many years to come the machine system of corrupt primaries, fraudulent registration, and ballot-box robberies that have made politically conspicuous many men in Maryland, who would have done the Democratic party great honor had they remained with the party of their first choice; that is, if they ever had a party except the party of office and of spoils.

"As a Democrat who voted for John C. Breckenridge, Horace Greeley, General Hancock, Samuel J. Tilden, and Grover Cleveland for presidents, and, without personal reference, I prefer an open enemy to a treacherous friend, and will vote for Mr. Brooks. I agree with you that there ought not to be a constitutional convention, as the present constitution provides for all needed amendments. A new constitution would involve a useless expenditure of money, and might prove highly dangerous to the liberties of the people. With the managers in power, and thousands of voters willing to sell their suffrage, there is no defining to what extent these leaders will go. We have now, throughout the State, upright judges; can we afford to risk the re-election of these, who illustrate that the last bulwark of human liberty and progress swept away in all lands and ages is the incorruptible bench? Without these, would we not just now be in a pitiable condition indeed? Very truly,

"J. W. BRYANT.

"DENTON, MD., October 17, 1887."

MR. BAUGHMAN AND THE REGISTRATION FRAUDS.

To the Editor of the Sun:

In your yesterday's issue Mr. Baughman published a card which, while in form an apparent denial of the charge I made against him, is in fact an admission of its substantial truth.

These are Mr. Baughman's admissions:

1. He received from some persons, *by him not named*, certain certificates of registration from Baltimore City, purporting to be given to voters who had changed their residences to Frederick County.

2. He admits that he did deliver those certificates to the Registers of Frederick County, with the request that the names stated therein be placed upon the registration books of the several districts of that county.

3. He admits that in some cases these certificates, instead of being given by him directly to the Registers themselves, were sent by mail.

4. He admits that he did hand several of these certificates of transfer to Mr. Joseph Brown, Register of Jackson District, as I had stated.

These are his admissions. What is his denial? These are his words: "It is absolutely untrue that I ever requested any Register in Frederick County to place upon the list of registered voters of his election district the name of any person who I *knew* was not entitled to be registered as a voter therein."

This language is evasive. Mr. Baughman denies that he asked the Registers to place names of voters on the book

who he *knew* did not live in Frederick County; *but did Mr. Baughman ask the Registers to place on their lists the names of persons of whom he knew nothing?* What right did he have to ask the Registers to place names on their lists at all? and especially what right did he have to ask them to place the names of persons on their lists of *whom and whose residence he had no knowledge whatever?*

Now let me examine the law and the facts briefly.

(a). The act then in force covering registration was that of 1876, chapter 249. Section 4 of this act contains this provision: The respective officers of registration "*shall deliver to any person whose name appears on the said list of qualified voters, and who may be desirous of registering elsewhere, a certificate of registration, and shall strike from the books of registration the names of all persons so applying for certificates of registration.*" It will be seen at once that this certificate of registration or transfer by the very terms of the law is only to be given to the person whose name appears upon the books, and who is desirous of registering elsewhere.

(b). The same section provides that it shall be the duty of the respective officers of registration "*to register the name of every person who shall apply to said officers to be registered as a qualified voter who shall satisfy them that he possesses*" the requisite qualifications, etc., and then distinctly provides that before registering such person they shall administer to him a specific oath.

It will thus be seen that the law as it stood at that time only authorized the Registers of Baltimore City to give certificates of registration to the *person whose name was upon the registration books*, and it did not authorize the Registers of Frederick County or any other county to register a voter unless he personally appeared and took the prescribed oath; and in case he had been registered elsewhere, he must bring with him his certificate of registration. Such was the law when Mr. Baughman acted in 1877.

How, then, did Mr. Baughman secure possession of more than 100 certificates of registration signed, or purporting to be signed, by Charles Keys, John Mahon, and other Registers of Baltimore City? The law provided that these certificates should only be issued to the voters themselves, and, if they had secured a residence in Frederick County, they must personally take the certificate to the Register, and upon their own oaths secure registration in that county. I therefore ask from what parties did Mr. Baughman receive the certificates? It is not in the nature of the case that over a hundred men should send their respective certificates of registration, which must be used by each of them personally and not otherwise, to Mr. Baughman, in whose hands they could not be available for any honest purpose.

Mr. Baughman states that some of the certificates were sent by mail to the Registers. Who sent them by mail? How would the several Registers in Frederick County obtain from six to ten certificates in one envelope by mail? Did *he* send them by mail? If so, from what quarter did he receive them? Now, the fact is that some of the certificates he sent by mail, and some of them he delivered with his own hands to the Registers. Among the persons to whom he sent certificates by mail was Elias Stottlemeyer, Register of the Catocin district of Frederick County. After Mr. Stottlemeyer had received these certificates Mr. Baughman went to him and endeavored to have him place these names upon the registration lists, which Mr. Stottlemeyer, being an honest man, declined to do.

How does it come that Mr. Baughman has in his possession over 100 certificates of registration for persons purporting to be residents of several districts in Frederick County, eight and ten in a district, and not one of these men residing therein?

No suspicion would probably be aroused by a man having one counterfeit bank note in his possession, but how would it be if he had a hundred? Mr. Baughman had in his possession in 1877 more than 100 fraudulent certificates of registration; that is to say, certificates of registration of persons purporting to reside in Frederick County who did not reside therein. Of the large number of certificates of this kind, photograph copies of which are now in my possession and have been publicly shown, not a single one is filled up with the name

of a man who in the year of their issue appears in the directory as residing in the ward from which he is transferred. Many of them do not even appear in the directory at all.

Mr. Baughman, if the law had been complied with, had no right to have a single certificate in his possession. The certificates of registration could only be valid in the hands of the voters themselves. He declines to state the names of the persons who gave him these fraudulent certificates, or to explain the way in which they came into his possession.

Such certificates could be used for no honest purpose except by the voter himself. Why does Mr. Baughman withhold the source from which he received them? If an innocent man is found in possession of stolen goods, counterfeit money, or certificates of this personal character, his first impulse is to tell, with the utmost detail, exactly how the property came into his possession. His absolute willingness to do so is the highest proof of his innocence—indeed, is the only proof. Any concealment of the source, or even any hesitation to reveal it—above all, the assignment of an indefinite source—is the best possible proof of guilty knowledge. *Mr. Baughman has withheld all information as to the source from which these hundred or more fraudulent certificates came.*

When the law provided that only the voter himself should present the certificate of registration, and he be registered only on a personal appearance and the taking of a specified oath, let Mr. Baughman explain how he came to be bringing to the Registers certificates, many at a time, and asking them to enter the names when no voter had appeared, no oath been taken, and no persons bearing such names resided in the county.

It is always to be regretted when individual character becomes a political issue. It is none the less true that it does sometimes become such. The selection by the managers for a high State office of a man like Baughman, with the well known reputation that he had in Western Maryland, was a party act for which the party must be held responsible. The people who selected him knew well what he was and his reputation at home. The exposure before this part of the State of what kind of a character he was (unnecessary in Western Maryland) became a high public duty not to be shirked because unpleasant. Respectfully,

JOHN K. COWEN.

VOTE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

VIGOROUS efforts are being made by the Ring to carry through its job of calling the constitutional convention, upon the success of which so many of its corrupt schemes depend, and voters are warned to see that the tickets which they cast on Tuesday bear the proper announcement of their vote upon this question. While we believe that the sense of the people is clearly opposed to the calling of the Convention, the Bosses are depending largely upon fraud and the carelessness of the average voter. If the Ring carries the city by its usual methods, it is greatly to be feared that the constitution scheme will be carried with it, and that we will have to depend for protection upon a heavy opposition majority from the counties. As Mr. Armstrong says in his letter which we print in this issue, "every illegal ballot cast in the City of Baltimore in November will be cast for a constitutional convention." If in addition many voters who are in hearty opposition to it neglect the matter, or allow themselves to be deceived into casting the "regular" ticket without striking off the vote in favor of the call and substituting one against it, even a large county majority against it will not avert the disaster. We repeat in this issue the reasons which we assigned in our last against the call. We said:

Briefly stated, the reasons against a constitutional convention at present are these: 1. A convention organized by the present dominant faction of the Democratic party would certainly be subject to and controlled by corrupt influences. 2. It is a matter of public notoriety, not denied by the managers, that among their corrupt purposes in calling the convention is to legislate out of office the present upright and incorruptible Supreme Bench of Baltimore City and the independent members of the Court of Appeals. 3. Another avowed object is the sale of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to the

West Virginia Railroad Company, of which Senator Gorman is a director and Mr. Whyte the solicitor. 4. The expenses connected with the convention and the three elections made necessary by it would amount to nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars, which would require additional taxation or a new public debt. 5. The admitted defects in the tax and registration laws are frivolous pretexts, and are due entirely to the corrupt and bungling legislation of the King of which they are the subject, and not to defects in the constitution. 6. The provisions for the amendment of the constitution in an inexpensive and satisfactory way are ample, and if there are really constitutional defects which ought to be altered, amendment offers all reasonable opportunities for such alterations. 7. While our election and registration laws are in so imperfect a condition it will be impossible to get at the real will of the people, and the "bosses" by frauds in Baltimore City will be able to defeat that will and control the several elections for their own corrupt purposes; and 9. The unsettlement of various interests which would follow upon the entire upturning of the State government and the practical dismissal of every officer in it, taken in connection with the excitement and unnecessary disturbance of three additional elections in one year, is a disaster to be avoided if possible.

We also reprint again from the *Frederick Union*, a leading Democratic paper, the following vigorous and manly editorial on the subject:

The most vital issue to the voters of Maryland, laying aside the question of honest elections, which is undoubtedly involved, is the question of a new constitution, and it is to be considered at the approaching election in November next. Of necessity the issue is an important one, and should be well understood in all its phases. If the constitution of a State under which the people have lived and prospered for twenty years is a good one, then it is but the part of wisdom and prudence, before any man votes for the calling of a convention to create a new constitution, to look at and examine carefully the objections offered against the present, and the reasons for a new fundamental law. The tampering with and completely overturning of the constitution of a State is a dangerous experiment, and can only be urged when the interests of the people and the interest of free and honest government demand it. It cannot be denied that the convention of 1867, which framed our present constitution, was extraordinary in the character and ability of its members. The men composing that convention met under such circumstances, and with the benefit of such recent experience, as to enable them, in an eminent degree, to adopt a wise, conservative, and well-nigh perfect organic law, that has stood the test of years. The men composing that convention gave to the people of the State the best constitution it has ever had. If there were no other reasons why a new convention should not be called, the fact that in the present state of corrupt influences in State politics it would be next to impossible to elect such a convention as that of 1867, would be sufficiently potent to defeat the scheme.

But why should we have a new constitution? Why should we change the present excellent one for an uncertainty? Shall we have a new constitution simply because we are required to vote on the question every twenty years? What are the reasons which justify the voting down of the present constitution? Shall we spend three hundred thousand dollars of taxes just for a change? As a sensible people we ought not only to have good reasons, but strong and pressing necessities before we undertake to change the whole organic system of our State, particularly when it involves the expenditure of so large a sum of money. Before the people vote for the calling of a convention to frame a new constitution, they want good and suffi-

cient reasons why it should be done, and they will not be satisfied with flimsy pretexts.

The Democratic State Convention did not declare for a new constitution, but only by innuendo gave pretexts for one, hence the party is not pledged to support the calling of a convention. This is not a party question and cannot be made one, no matter how hard Gorman, Kasin and their followers may try to have it appear as such. It is a question that should and does come home to every taxpayer, voter and citizen in the State, who is interested in an economical and good government. We do not need a new constitution to have honest elections and honest registration in Baltimore City. Such a claim is a mere pretext. There is nothing either in the letter or spirit of the present constitution which prevents an annual registration and honest elections in Baltimore City. It is not by the constitution, but in spite of it, by the appointment of dishonest and corrupt registrars and judges of elections, that makes elections in Baltimore corrupt and but farces. The constitution is good and the laws are sufficient. The trouble lies with the corrupt and dishonest public officers who do not execute the laws.

What the people want are reasons why we should change our fundamental law, and not base pretexts. If it is desired in order to strike down the present honest judiciary, why don't the friends of a new constitution say so? If an independent Court of Appeals is wanted, that is an argument. If it is desired to change the system, from election as now, to appointment by the Governor, that will be a reason. These we could meet, but we cannot meet pretexts, except by branding them false. Up to this time the taxation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad property was the principal pretext, but since John K. Cowen's letter it has proved so transparent that the author of the pretext, the *Baltimore Sun*, has repudiated it. If an independent Court of Appeals is a necessity, that can be adopted by an amendment to the present constitution. So with every other question. If there are any changes in the present constitution that the times demand, or if there be any new features which should be added, they can all be accomplished by amendments. The present constitution makes ample provision for such alterations whenever they are found to be necessary. That can be accomplished at very little cost, and a half million dollars saved.

We have been unable to find any legitimate reasons for a new constitution. Mr. Gorman says the "people want it," yet the representatives of the Democratic people of Maryland did not declare so when they were assembled in State Convention, and the Republican Convention, representing the Republican citizens of the State, declared against it. If the people wanted it, or if the Democratic party wanted it, why did not the convention of which Mr. Gorman was the master spirit say so, in plain, unmistakable language? The truth is, the bosses, and not the people, want a new constitution.

They do not want an independent Court of Appeals, but a *dependent* one. It is the independence of the present judges that is the chief objection of the bosses. Mr. Gorman wants to "get rid of the present judges," particularly in Baltimore City, where his election judges and clerks are being put into the penitentiary, for he so told Mr. George Colton. They want to strike down our incorruptible judiciary, and fill the benches with men who will do their bidding, and save their tools from behind prison bars. The legislative and executive branches of our State government are dominated by these bosses, and now an incorruptible judiciary, that stands as a barrier to the spoiler and corruptionist, is to be taken from the people, and their rights placed still more at the mercy of the violent, the lawless and the criminal. Let all good and true citizens be careful, lest by voting for the calling of a convention to frame a new constitution, they may sow the wind and reap the whirlwind.

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THE

Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. III. — No. 12.

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER, 1887.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

Lombard Investment Company.

An Act in addition to and in amendment of an Act relating to Trust and Investment Companies and enlarging the powers of the Bank Commissioners.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

SECTION 1. Every corporation heretofore or hereafter organized under the laws of this State, whether by special charter or otherwise, which has power to and does sell or negotiate its own choses in action, or sell, guarantee or negotiate the choses in action of other persons or corporations, as investments or as a business, shall be under the supervision of the bank commissioners of this State, and subject in that connection to all the laws relating to the examination and report of banks, savings banks, and trust companies. Said commissioners, in an annual report of these corporations to the Governor of this State, shall clearly describe the various classes of assets and liabilities of each and state any special provision which has been made for the payment of such liabilities.

Approved May 18, 1887.

In compliance with an act of the Legislature of Connecticut placing companies dealing in Western mortgages under the control of the Connecticut Savings Bank Commissioners, the LOMBARD INVESTMENT COMPANY renders the following statement, audited by A. B. Mygatt, ex-National Bank Examiner for Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Statement at the close of business June 25, 1887:

RESOURCES.		LIABILITIES.	
Mortgages and bills receivable.....	\$1,969,086 05	Capital fully paid.....	\$1,000,000 00
Overdrafts.....	1,114 92	Reserve.....	150,000 00
Expenses and taxes paid.....	107,545 38	Surplus.....	100,000 00
English consols and Pennsylvania R. R. sinking fund, sterling gold bonds, at par.....	8,700 00	Undivided profits.....	290,673 56
U. S. Government 4 per cent. and 4½ per cent. bonds, at par.....	45,000 00	Debentures.....	490,350 00
Union Pacific R. R. first mortgage 6 per cent. bonds, at par.....	12,000 00	Interest paid by borrowers, awaiting presentation of coupons.....	48,694 93
Boston, Concord and Montreal 7 per cents., at par.....	5,000 00	Loaning funds, awaiting investment in Lombard Investment Company securities, account English and American clients.....	462,521 15
Other stocks and bonds.....	49,545 85		\$2,538,439 64
Cash with company's bankers:			
Martin & Co., London; Maverick National Bank, Boston; National			
Broadway Bank, New York; Chase National Bank, New York; Central			
National Bank, Philadelphia, and First National Bank, Kansas City..	340,447 44		
	\$2,538,439 64		

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
COUNTY OF SUFFOLK.

I hereby certify that having examined the books of the Lombard Investment Company, the above statement is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

A. B. MYGATT,
Deputy Examiner appointed by the Board of Bank Commissioners
of the State of Connecticut.

In his report to the Bank Commissioners Mr. Mygatt says:

I visited Boston and Kansas City, and made a careful examination of the affairs of said company at the request of its officers, and also in the official capacity of Deputy Bank Commissioner, under the Act passed by the last Legislature of Connecticut, relating to Trust and Investment Companies doing business in that State.

The mortgage loans, which constitute the principal portion of the resources, I regard as well secured, and ample security, in charge of the trustees, is also provided for the debenture bonds. The loans are on farms and city properties, on valuations not to exceed forty per cent., and averaging not over thirty per cent., and are made and determined by careful and experienced examiners.

The system, methods, and general conduct of the extensive business of the company in the several departments merit special commendation. The company has for its principal officers and managers men of high financial standing and character, and is entitled to the continued confidence of its customers and investors. A. B. MYGATT.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. III.—No. 12.

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER, 1887.

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THE MONTH.

THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER completes its third annual volume with this issue. An index and title page for binding will be sent out with the January number. Information in regard to back numbers and bound volumes will be found in another column. It is hardly necessary to add that the paper will enter upon its fourth year with unabated vigor and spirit. Those familiar with its history need not be told that it continues to grow in everything which contributes to the permanent welfare and prosperity of a newspaper. The past year has witnessed a gratifying increase in its subscription list, and especially, we are glad to say, among fair-minded people who, although they may not endorse all its views, cheerfully admit its disinterested motives, and regard its fearless and independent utterances as meriting at least a respectful hearing and consideration. As a matter of course, the financial support of the paper has kept pace with its rapid growth in the confidence of our people, and its friends will be interested in the homely but encouraging fact that the net receipts for the past year have exceeded by more than one-half those of 1886. The managers of the paper have, therefore, every reason for congratulation. Their efforts will be hopefully directed during the coming year to still further widen the field of its usefulness, to add to the interest of its columns, and in every possible way to merit a continuance of the good will and approval of the public.

THE general political attitude of the paper will be precisely that taken in its first issue and consistently maintained throughout the three years of its existence. It will be animated, as heretofore, by a strictly non-partisan and independent spirit. Its utterances will continue to be absolutely fearless and straightforward; as near to fairness and exact truth as it is possible for honest men to come; free from any double construction, and in general as frank and direct as good faith with its subscribers can make them. Ingenious persons who imagine vain things about every effort to be independent and every person claiming to be interested in politics without sinister and concealed purposes, will have the same difficulty in the future as they have had in the past to contrive a theory about it, which any sensible man can seriously adopt, to the discredit of its aims or motives. It will strive as heretofore to promote in every honest way the faithful, efficient and economical administration of our government; to defend our people in the enjoyment of the suffrage and all other political rights; to secure the passage of laws for the protection of the public from the officeholder, and the officeholder from the tyranny of the bosses, and to promote legislation which will remove the elective offices from the hands of untrustworthy "managers" and restore them at once to the free choice of the people, and to the manly and honorable competition of men in all walks of life who aspire to and deserve them. It is impossible for us to represent the interests of any partisan organization in the pursuit of these objects. They are beyond the domain of mere partisanship. They represent the cause of the people, and they lie deep in the foundation of republican institutions.

A COPY of this issue of the paper is sent to each member of the Legislature of 1888, and we venture to hope that many of them will be interested enough in its contents (whether they endorse them or not) to subscribe regularly to it. The duty which every good citizen owes to the State to accept cheerfully the legally announced result of a popular election, however much he may feel disappointed at the outcome, is reciprocal with the duty of the successful candidate to demean himself as the representative of the whole people. It is from this standpoint that we earnestly appeal to the members of the Legislature of 1888, to whatever party or faction they may belong, to give fair audience to all that is to be said on all sides of the vitally important subjects that will be brought before that body this winter. It is needless to say that the next session of the Legislature is looked forward to with anxious interest and concern by all friends of honest government. It seems to be, in a measure, a crisis in our State affairs which demands from all good citizens, in the Legislature and outside of it, all the earnest patriotism and devotion to the public interests which they can command. We warn all over-zealous friends of honest government that the present is no time for matters about which honest men can fairly differ; that subjects of secondary importance which are likely to excite animosities must be laid aside; that men who are in accord upon the great issue of fair elections, however much they may differ upon other matters, must stand resolutely side by side to face the common foe. We cannot afford to lose the vote of a single honest man in the Legislature. If there could be an exception to the axiom that a party is best served by a loyal allegiance of its managers and members to the public welfare, certainly our present political surroundings do not present one. It would be an insult to the intelligence of our people to claim that the Democratic party can again command their support, if its solemn pledges, which have many times spared it the humiliation of defeat, are again made sport of.

HONEST and effective election and registration laws will, of course, be first brought to the attention of the Legislature. The opportunities for only a pretended fulfilment of the party obligations, the sad experience in this regard of other years, and certain ominous signs to which we have before called attention, must be carefully borne in mind by the friends of the measures. Any law which involves the innumerable details necessary in an election law must perforce offer many loopholes for fraud, and honest legislators need only to be careless or inexperienced to be easily inveigled into the support of plausible measures which in fact serve every purpose of corrupt men. The Baltimore Reform League has no pride of authorship. If it will better please any member of the Legislature to vote for the law proposed by it, under some other name, provided always that it contains its fundamental provisions for the protection of the ballot, and that it is drawn with the same precision and careful attention to details, the Reform League will be none the less pleased. But sensible men, whatever their prejudices, will give weight to the fact that a law which has been for two years the subject of painstaking study, from which all

possible looseness of language (the bane of most of our legislation) has been eliminated, which is the result of a careful examination of the workings of the most effective election laws in the world, which has been prepared under the auspices of an association whose chief object of existence is the improvement of our elective system, and which has been in print and subject to the minutest public scrutiny for several months, would at least have presumptions in its favor that could not be made for laws drawn in secret by persons more or less untrustworthy or inexperienced, or both, and pressed on the Legislature without a reasonable opportunity for public examination. The main provisions of the law which the people demand have been so fully discussed and explained that no member of the Legislature can allow them to escape his attention, however easily he may be deceived in regard to important details by cunning language. Annual registration in Baltimore City must be the basis of the law. If the counties do not need and will not pay for annual registration, as is probable, then the counties must have at least quadrennial registration with annual revisions. The next most important feature is minority representation in every stage of the election, on the Board of Election Commissioners, on the Board of Registry and Elections—at every point, in fact, of the vote. This is a safeguard of vital importance. Again, the ballot boxes must be of glass; the votes must be cast, not through a window but within a room, and the ballot box must always be in full view. Representatives of all parties must be allowed to be present during the registration, election, and count of the ballots. Proper places must be selected for registration and election. Provision must be made for the prompt and public announcement of the vote, and a uniform method of counting the ballots must be arranged for. Of course these are general requirements. A law meeting them can only be made effective by expressing each provision in the most carefully considered and most precise language, and making the amplest arrangements for the punishment of all offenders. It is needless to add that such a law could only be successfully drawn by men who are heartily in sympathy with honest government.

THE Civil Service Reform Association will, we understand, have a law before the next Legislature designed to regulate the appointments of the minor executive servants in Baltimore City. It will probably resemble in all important particulars the National Civil Service Reform Law, omitting the age limit, which is not worth the opposition it creates, although it serves the not unimportant purpose of filling the service with active young men who can give their best talents and health to the Government business. It will also draw from the States of New York and Massachusetts much of their valuable experience. The need for such a law is only of secondary importance to the demand for honest elections, and is indeed closely allied with that demand. We certainly have had demonstration enough of the corrupting influence upon our city politics of the bargain and sale of our public offices. It requires no new proof to show that our offices are filled through favor and not for fitness, that they are given as rewards of and promised as incentives to political work, and that the power of our local bosses depends entirely upon their ability to control the filling of them. It will perhaps be admitted everywhere that if a means could be devised to strip the bosses of this control, the most difficult problem in municipal politics would be solved. Nor will men experienced in politics deny that the patronage trade is the main factor in

determining who shall and who shall not be our elective officers. Their nominations are controlled by the "managers" through their command of patronage, as completely as their elections are subsequently compassed by the same means. The primary election, everybody knows, is controlled through the officeholders and the pressure which through them can be brought to bear upon their friends. The proposed law will provide in effect that all the minor offices shall be filled by open, practical competition for them; that after a man has secured his appointment on his merits, he shall hold it as long as he fills the office with credit and satisfaction; that political work, instead of being as now the ground for his keeping his office, shall be forbidden by law at the hands of the officeholder; and that political assessments upon or voluntary contributions by officeholders shall be illegal.

ELSEWHERE we print from an address delivered by Mr. Joseph B. Bishop before the Commonwealth Club of New York, upon the "Use of Money in Elections," which will interest any person who can be interested at all in political matters. We have not yet at our disposal the exact figures about our Baltimore elections, which Mr. Bishop quotes so forcibly about those of New York, but the family likeness between the spoils system in the two cities is too close for there to be any real difference between them, except the natural one of amounts. As will be seen from the address, a bill is now being prepared, to be introduced into the New York Legislature this winter, which seems to meet practically the most serious of the evils connected with the question. It provides in substance: (1) For taking away the pretext for assessments, by having the ballots printed by the State or city, at public expense, and given out only by the election officers to the voter on election day. (2) For limiting the expenses of candidates by law, and requiring from them after the election a sworn public statement of all their outlays. (3) For stringent measures to prevent bribery and undue influence of all kinds. The discussion is in the same line as was the admirable little pamphlet printed last year by Chamberlain Ivins of New York, from which we quoted last winter. The tickets are intended to be given out by the election officers at the polls, which enables a careful account to be kept of them, and makes the pudding ticket and bogus tickets intended to deceive ignorant and careless voters things of the past. The voter enters the polling room and receives a ticket from the judges, containing the names of all the candidates to be voted for. He places a mark opposite the candidate of his choice and returns the ticket to the judges, who deposit it in the box. It will be seen at once that this immediately dispenses with the expense and other evil results connected with the ticket-holder. Any person can have his name placed on the government ticket to be voted for, on presenting to the proper authorities a certificate signed by a certain number of registered voters, which makes a candidate largely independent of the primary elections, and consequently largely independent of the managers who control them. It has other advantages which we cannot enter into here. In our next issue we will print the rest of the address and deal with the subject in some of its local aspects, showing the workings of the plan with more detail.

WE are aware that Mr. Isidor Rayner, congressman elect from the Fourth Congressional District of Maryland, is disposed to be sensitive about the allusions which this journal

makes to his public behavior; but he must kindly allow us to give our subscribers the benefit of his views of civil service reform from "a practical standpoint." Our readers will recall his generous endorsement of President Cleveland when he was engaged in soliciting votes for Congress on the stump, in a district which contained many persons who looked with disfavor upon the spoils system. In one of his speeches he declared that President Cleveland "recognizes the fact that a party made up of officeholders and office-seekers is no party at all; that it is an artificial system which will be swept out of existence by the first onset of public opinion; and he proposes to make the Democratic party a party of the people—a party held together by love of country and not by love of plunder." In the same speech he cried: "Let me say here that in my opinion a man who seeks public office merely for the sake of its emoluments or of the patronage that surrounds it, is unworthy to hold it. If going to Congress simply means the possession of a certain amount of political influence and temporary prominence, then any one who covets the honor for that reason had better remain at home." Possibly some credulous people voted for Mr. Rayner on the strength of these creditable utterances. He has not yet taken his seat in the House of Representatives, and yet here are some statements of his, taken from a morning journal of a recent date, which have never been denied and which have every indication of being exact truth. In a report of the proceedings of Mr. Morrison's Crescent Club, of which Mr. Rayner is a prominent member, it is said: "Just as the meeting had been declared adjourned, Congressman Rayner said he wished to claim their attention for a moment. There had been considerable trouble from some cause or other, he said, in securing appointments in the Washington Navy Yard. *He thought that things were more promising now, and that in the course of a week or two he could secure about six appointments of laborers there. He therefore wished that all members present who were desirous of getting any of their friends in these places would leave their names with the secretary. Mr. Rayner's remarks were greeted with applause.*" Of course, no comment is required upon anything so unmistakable, but we take the liberty of calling Secretary Whitney's attention to Mr. Rayner's promises.

It so often falls within the line of our public duty to find fault with Mr. John P. Poe, that it is positively refreshing to be able to commend him for his manly and intelligent treatment of the tenure of office question in the Board of School Commissioners, of which he has long been an active and, we believe, a useful member from the eleventh ward. The system of annual elections of teachers which obtains in Baltimore is thoroughly demoralizing to the discipline and *morale* of the public school service, and as Mr. Baer said on Tuesday night, "is unknown in every country except the United States, and is rapidly being given up here." It prevailed for many years in New York, for example, but has been abolished, with astonishingly good results. Mr. Poe's amendment, which was voted down at the last meeting, was aimed at this evil, and provided that "teachers shall be elected by ballot, and when elected, shall hold their positions during good behavior; but for sufficient cause shown, the Board shall have the power to dispense with their services at any time after giving notice as the Board may require." Of course we would have preferred that the amendment should have provided for the original selection of teachers by competitive examinations, but Mr. Poe's move was

in the right direction. The amendment, it is to be regretted, was defeated by a heavy majority, and among those voting against it are the names of James Mitchell and Thomas W. Skinner, the new Republican members of the Board. These gentlemen certainly owe the public an explanation. Did not the Republican State Convention declare in favor of "thorough, radical and complete reform in the civil service"; that "the tenure of administrative offices . . . should be made secure during good behavior," and that "these principles should be applied in their full force to the government of the State of Maryland and the city of Baltimore"? We are very sure that our Republican friends will be as slow as ourselves to regard this as a sample of the fulfilment of their pledges by the gentlemen named. As for Mr. Poe, if he will only turn his energies to as good a purpose, in the larger political field which he claims to occupy, the most critical will have but little cause to complain of him.

THE LEGISLATIVE OUTLOOK FOR REFORM IN MARYLAND.

IT would be very foolish and unmanly to pretend that, in our view, the result of the recent State elections has been other than a great public misfortune, in many regards. At the same time, it would be neither wise nor candid to overlook or undervalue the importance of what has been gained, in our regret for what has been lost. That election reform has made enormous practical progress in public sentiment, during the last two years, it is impossible honestly to deny, nor can it be reasonably questioned that the radical changes in our registration and election laws, towards which the patient and persistent efforts of the Reformers have been almost exclusively directed for so long a time, have at length reached the point when at least their partial, if not their perfect consummation may be regarded as assured. When even the *Baltimore Sun*—the very organ and daily mouth-piece of the Gorman and Rasin ring—after so long audaciously denying the need of reform, and minimizing, in the most uncandid way, when it could not venture to deny, the frauds and abuses which cried aloud for change and made it indispensable—when even such a journal, with all its antecedents, has been brought to admit, as it now does, that "the Democratic party" would to-day "be sitting in sackcloth and ashes, instead of singing pæans of praise," if it had not pledged itself to reform, in the recent canvass, and that having been victorious, solely "upon the faith of this pledge," it "cannot dishonor it and live"—there is surely nothing left to be said as to the changes and concessions which the Reformers have forced upon the Bosses.

As our readers are aware, from our explicit declarations at the time, the support of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER was not given to the Republican nominees, in their party character at all, but simply and exclusively as the pledged representatives of a policy and system of reform which we regarded as vital, and which we did not believe could be safely entrusted to any nominees of the Democratic ring. We had absolute confidence in the pledge of the Republican State Convention and its candidates, if elected, to enact the Reform League Election Law, precisely as it stands, within thirty days after the meeting of the Legislature. Their declaration and pledge in favor of Civil Service Reform, among State and city as well as Federal employees, also enlisted our warm adhesion, as against the discreditable spoils "plank" of the Democratic platform. We had no idea then, and we have none now, that the election of the Republican city and State

tickets would have produced any change whatever in the politics of the State upon Federal questions, and we regarded the pretense that the election of Mr. Brooks would interfere with the re-election of Mr. Cleveland, in Maryland, should he be renominated, as a sheer campaign clap-trap, pure, simple, and empty. In no event did it occur to us that the passage, under any auspices, of a law securing honest registration and fair elections could damage anybody who was not a proper person to be damaged. A minority party like the Republican, no matter what might be its increase of votes, could never be anything but a minority, in the count, except through a clean ballot box, and we therefore felt that the Republican candidates were bound to the Reform League Law by all their interests and hopes as well as their pledges. That a majority party like the Democrats could have nothing to fear, as a party, from a fair registration and an honest count, seemed very plain to us—though it was equally clear at the same time that a ring of party managers, more intent upon electing themselves and their nominees and tools than upon the legitimate success of the party, might well desire to perpetuate a system, under which they could cheat unsatisfactory Democrats as well as Republicans, at pleasure.

But be all this as it may, our support of the Republican candidates was not as Republicans, or because they were Republicans, just as our opposition to the Democratic nominees was not as Democrats or because they were such. It was because we felt the cause of election reform to be safer in the hands of the candidates nominated by the Republicans than in those of the Democratic Ring nominees, and because we regarded both sets of candidates only in the light of their relation, respectively, to the great and vital issue of pure and free suffrage, beside which all party issues and distinctions were insignificant, in our contemplation. When, therefore, we say that we regard the result of the recent elections as a great misfortune, we speak only in the interest of the great question which was supreme in the canvass. With Mr. Brooks as Governor and a Republican majority in the Legislature, we should have had the Reform League Law at once, without qualification, tinkering or hindrance—a people's and not a party law. We should have had it pass at once into operation, with the Executive sanction, and have had it administered and executed by officers pledged to it, sympathizing with it, anxious to make it effective and successful. With Mr. Jackson as Governor, we could not hope for this. Indeed, his own explicit declarations seemed to leave us no ground to hope for it. In the Legislature, we know already that the whole influence of the Ring will be cast substantially against the proposed reform, and that it will be felt in the suggestion of doubts and quibbles and constitutional crotchets and "amendments to kill," of which some were indicated during the canvass, and were noticed in our columns, and others have since made their appearance, more undisguised. Mr. Gwinn's notion is already familiar to the people of the State, viz., that we cannot have annual registration in the city, under our present constitution, without having it in the counties also. This notion, if adopted, will prevent the counties, as Mr. Gwinn knows, from ever consenting to the change which we require in Baltimore. It is an open secret, too, that Mr. Gwinn has still another difficulty. He does not think that the Democratic party is pledged by its platform to a new registration law at all. He calls attention (as we learn) to the declaration of the platform, that the existing registration law is "as nearly complete and accurate as it can be under the present organic law,"

and insists that the committee appointed by the resolution of the Convention was not authorized to prepare any but an election law, as contradistinguished from a registration law, and clearly cannot meddle with the registration now, after the refusal of the people, by so enormous a majority, to authorize a constitutional convention.

Mr. Poe had already announced his little scheme, before the appearance of our November issue, and appeared to have taken the thing entirely into his own hands, inasmuch as he pledged himself to prepare a law according to his own devices—that is to say, the Reform League Law Poe-ologically treated—and to stay at Annapolis till it "or a better" was passed, without the slightest reference to the views of the committee appointed for the purpose by the Democratic State Convention. Indeed, the *Sun* had previously intimated, in a semi-official way, that the committee might probably not be called together, inasmuch as Mr. Poe had been employed by the Legislature to revise the Code and an election law was of course within the scope of his employment. Mr. Poe's *status* upon the "uniformity" question was left a little doubtful by his speech at the Democratic jubilee, held at the Concordia on October 28th, before the State election. After the manner of great lawgivers he announced his purposes as follows: "*I propose*," he said, "to make the law provide for annual registration, both in the city and the counties, *until the constitution can be changed*. We will know next winter whether we shall have a constitutional convention. If we have it, we can easily pass the law, and the convention can provide for a clause in the constitution to meet the exigencies." But, long before "next winter" reached us, Mr. Poe was credibly informed, by a vast majority of the voters of Maryland, that he was not to have a constitutional convention, and the question is, what does he "propose" to do now? We know that he wants to have supervisors or commissioners of elections in each of the three election districts of Baltimore, *i. e.* nine instead of three. We know that he wants the Election Commissioners in the counties to be appointed by the Governor, as in the city, and not by the County Commissioners. We had supposed that he intended this to kill the bill—which would be its obvious result—or at all events to prevent the county officers—who might be, and many of whom have just been, elected as anti-Ring men, even where the State officers elect are Democratic—from having anything to do with supervising the registration or elections. We were not prepared for the further astounding suggestion, which we are just now informed that Mr. Poe has made, to the effect that "uniformity" in registration requires even the proposed Election Commissioners, by whom the Board of Registration is to be named under the Reform League Law, to derive all their appointments from the same "uniform" source—and not from the Commissioners in the counties and the Governor in the city, as the Reform League Law provides! It is due to Mr. Poe to say that he has gone only to the extent of suggesting the point, so far as we are advised, and has not yet announced it as his definite opinion. Would it not be wiser to forestall every further objection of the sort, at once, by providing for a registration uniform, to be worn by everybody, from the Governor down, when engaged in anything that savors of registration business? We do not of course venture the opinion that this would absolutely cover the case, but we presume to suggest it as a far more comprehensive and reasonable solution of Mr. Gwinn's constitutional difficulties than any that we have seen from his side of the house. But what Mr. Poe or Mr. Gwinn may think,

though naturally of much more importance, on a legal question, than Mr. Jackson's opinion, is nevertheless of comparatively little practical moment in view of his position as Governor of the State. To say nothing of his personal influence and the control which he will exercise through the distribution of the spoils, he is clothed with the veto power, and, if he chooses to exercise it, he may be able to postpone, for two years longer, the consummation of the reforms, to which it is conceded on all hands that the Democratic party has pledged its faith in the most solemn way. All that Mr. Jackson has publicly said upon the subject unfortunately commits him more or less, as we have intimated, to the hopeless proposition, that we cannot have annual registration in Baltimore, under the existing constitution, without imposing the same upon the counties also—a burden to which the counties, as we have said, never will submit, and against which no reasonable man can complain of their rebelling. The only question is, whether, in view of the fact that the people have pronounced so overwhelmingly against the call of a convention to change the present fundamental law, notwithstanding the open assertion and contention of the Ring and its lawyers that the registration law could not be improved while the existing constitution lasted—Mr. Jackson and his really responsible advisers—especially the Attorney-General—can help feeling and knowing, that the people have interpreted the constitution for themselves, and have declared the reform which they desire and demand, in the registration, to be absolutely compatible with the constitution which they have refused to alter. Ever since the submission of constitutions to the popular vote, it has been held by all the courts, and by none more amply than our own, that they are not to be technically construed, like statutes, or deeds, or ordinary legal instruments, but according to the popular sense which their language would reasonably convey to the voter who passed upon them at the ballot box. The words of constitutional provisions are to be taken, say our Court of Appeals, in "their ordinary and common acceptance." Every clause must receive "a common-sense interpretation," they again say, "by which we mean the sense in which it was understood by those who adopted it." It is inconceivable that the people of Maryland, with the existing constitution brought controversially before them, during the entire canvass—with their attention concentrated vividly upon it, by the exciting question of a call for a convention to change it, and by the thorough discussion of its meaning in the clause touching uniformity of registration—would have refused, by so enormous a vote, to reconsider it, unless they felt that upon any "common-sense interpretation" which they could give to it, they did not regard it as standing in the way of the imperative reforms which concerned them so deeply and excited them so much. It is incredible that voters did not understand what the constitution means, to the common intelligence, and did not pass upon the question and mean to pass on it. It would be a reproach to the intelligence of the State, to hold that the people intended to sacrifice a great and palpable blessing to a lawyer's disputed doubt or quibble.

And this brings us to consider the probabilities of the legislative session which is approaching. We have shown, by the wholesale confession of the *Sun*, how the desire for reform and a deep sense of the necessity of legislation to secure it had so pervaded all classes and all parties, that the Democratic organization was compelled to recognize it and accept that necessity or suffer ignominious defeat. Whether reform was to be sought "inside the party" or compelled

by pressure from without—whether it could be secured, most certainly, through the regular organization, or the independent movement, or the Republican party—were questions upon which opinion was widely and passionately divided. But upon the necessity of reform and the determination to have it, in one way or another, all decent people of all parties were united. About these things there was no difference of opinion anywhere. The popular wave was so mighty that no one could stand up before it. When we compare the confessions, concessions, protestations and promises of "the party," in the canvass of 1887, with the brazen denials and insolent defiance of the campaigns of 1883, 1885, and 1886, it is difficult to realize that it is the same men who were dealing with the same issues. That this absolute, wholesale and marvellous change of public opinion was due exclusively to the independent reform movement and the Reform League, we demonstrated in our November issue. To their patient and self-sacrificing perseverance in hunting down and exposing fraud and bringing its perpetrators to justice and punishment, the people of Maryland are indebted, altogether, for all that gives promise of salutary change at this moment. No single person, outside of those organizations, has made one single effort, or laid out one single dollar, or spent one hour of sacrifice or labor, from first to last, in the good work of detection, exposure or prosecution. It is exclusively their triumph, to have made the necessity of reform so palpable and shown its urgency to be so imperative, that even the Democratic bosses not only could not deny it, or refuse it, but were compelled to rest their hopes of success upon outbidding their opponents by noisy pledges to secure it. But, apart from the merit of this result—which we only allude to briefly and by the way—the great, broad fact is undeniable, that every man elected to the coming Legislature, of every party or opinion, is under vow and pledge to the people to give them, in good faith, henceforth, by stringent and effective legislation, an unpolluted ballot box and an honest count. Except under such vow and pledge, no man of them all could have been elected to either branch of the General Assembly. Nor is it a pledge which can be kept by lip service merely, or evaded by a quibble or falsified by a trick. It is one which will have to be redeemed by fair, square, ample legislation, upon all points where the evil presses. Anything else will be bad faith or, as the *Sun* emphatically puts it, sheer "dishonor."

It follows from what we have said, that to limit the confidence of the people to those members of the Legislature who have been elected outside of the party organization or against it, would be altogether to underrate the strength and sway of the reform sentiment and belittle the reasonable expectations of earnest men. That there will be some members of the Senate and the House who will turn their backs, at any moment, on the party's pledges and their own, and do precisely as they are bidden by the Bosses, to whom they owe their nomination and election, is undoubtedly true. But these are marked men, who were chosen for such work, and from whom and whose antecedents nobody expects anything better. The new element in the Legislature will move, we are persuaded, on a far higher and more independent plane. We could name members of both houses, elected upon the regular ticket, on whose desire and determination to do the right and true thing we rely as implicitly as if they had been nominated and elected by the Independents. Some of them were already pledged to reform, and were nominated because of their pledges, and

in spite of the opposition of the Bosses. Others were conspicuous as Reformers, and differed only from the Independents in believing that reform was possible "within the party." They still believe and will endeavor by their legislation to demonstrate that it is. Among them are gentlemen of the highest personal character, incapable of bad faith, and likely, from their ability and force, to be among the leaders in both houses. Apart from these, of whom we feel that we can speak with confidence, we think it may be predicated of the great mass of the members—excepting always the well known and professional corruptionists alluded to above—that they will fairly recognize the unmistakable demand of their constituents for reform, and will none the less fulfil their duty and keep the pledges of the party, because a failure to do so will result in political ruin to themselves. Indeed, after the utter and dismal defeat of the Ring in its cherished scheme of a constitutional convention, the blindest cannot fail to see that the strength of the conspiracy and its ability to protect its friends are visibly waning. Its will is no longer law. It is idle to pretend that the convention was not meant to be and was not really a party issue, as far as the Bosses could make it such. They urged it and pressed it, on the hustings and through all their organs, everywhere and in every way. The *Sun* dedicated itself day by day to a heated advocacy of the project, and dwelt on its necessity and merits with an exaggeration and a fury, to which only personal interests could ordinarily have stimulated so discreet and dispassionate a journal. Every ticket issued by the Democratic Central Committee had "for a constitutional convention" printed upon it. The whole party machinery was worked in aid of it, and yet anything more ignominious than its fate was never known in the history of our politics. It was a defeat of the Bosses—an utter, disgraceful defeat—or it was nothing. And defeat is what gentlemen of their kind cannot bear. Success is their only merit and stock in trade, and when once discredited, they cannot tell, nor can any one else, how imminent and utter their bankruptcy may be. Nor does defeat often stop with a single visitation. Another and another is apt, if not sure, to follow. Aside, therefore, from all the causes which we think will combine to keep the Legislature right, the Bosses must have lost in a great degree, by their enormous discomfiture, their once absolute power to set it and keep it wrong.

We have alluded to the possible action of the Attorney-General elect, as an element in the probability of Mr. Jackson's abandoning his obstructive notions in regard to an annual registration law. Being no lawyer, Mr. Jackson cannot possibly have any pride in his opinion upon a legal question. He will probably accept that of his constitutional adviser, the Attorney-General who was specially elected by the people, in 1887, to advise him, and not the *dicta* of the irresponsible advisers who have been so long counselling Mr. Gorman. If we are entitled to form any judgment from the speeches and declarations of Mr. Whyte during the campaign, he sees and confesses the necessity for reform in our registration and election laws, as clearly and fully as any man, and over and over has pledged his faith most solemnly to make them what they ought to be, so far as in him lies. From a man of earnest purpose, good faith and practical sense, that pledge means a reality, and not a crotchet. It means doing what he promises. It does not mean trying not to do it, or dodging it, or feeding the hopes of the people with a constitutional special demurrer. It remains for Mr. Whyte to demonstrate, as we trust he may, that he sincerely

means all this, and is not to be turned away from it. In re-entering on politics, he can certainly have no idea of being or becoming Mr. Gorman's subordinate or satellite. His position in the Democratic party has been too high, heretofore, for him to come down to the level of a sub-boss. Such a suggestion would be an insult to him. His opportunity lies in rising with the higher aspirations of his party, and not in coupling himself with its present disgraces or with those who patronize and would perpetuate them. He cannot link his name or his future with a nobler or more honorable work than the restoration of the ballot box to purity and freedom in Maryland. He could not more effectually throw himself away than by trifling, at a moment like this, with his better instincts and the great opportunities which are before him.

THE PARTING GUEST.

NOBODY, of course, expected Mr. Hodges, in going out of office, to "die," like Cardinal Beaufort, "and make no sign." He was bound to make a speech, and to make himself the theme of it, and as his political entrance and his exit were rather a sad business to him, on the whole, it was hardly in human nature for him to pass into the darkness in a very good humor. But he went out in a humor so uncommonly bad, and dedicated so many of his last words, so ferociously, to his resentments and his animosities against his political opponents, that we cannot escape the necessity, though much against our will, of making a few comments upon him and what he has said. THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has had unfortunate occasion, from time to time, to discuss Mr. Hodges and his acts and utterances. But we have never meddled with him in any but his political or official capacity, and have never criticised any but his official or ostensibly official performances. It is in the same capacity only that we propose to deal with him briefly now. He seeks to pose as a much abused and greatly injured and persecuted citizen and public servant. He desires to create the impression that his political opponents maliciously conspired to "impart a false coloring to his character" by gross "vituperation and offensiveness" during "a rancorous and tempestuous campaign," in which they "degraded the tone of the hustings" more than it was ever degraded before. He further insists that his appointments to office have been calumniously denounced by "malignant partisans" and "reckless slanderers," and not only swells with righteous indignation thereat, but actually goes so far as to intimate, more than broadly, that his own "official precepts and examples" may have "contributed to bring about the reformatory changes now advocated by the representative men and the decent public press of all parties"! We think that in assuming these positions Mr. Hodges, to say the best that we can of him, is dealing altogether with his imagination, and that no public man was ever more unfortunate, in being unable to realize the difference between what he thinks of himself, and what he is and other people think of him. His language, too, is reasonably strong for a man who quarrels with hard words "in the interest of public decency."

Those who recollect anything distinctly of the Brown-Hodges campaign will have no difficulty in recollecting the fact that it was thoroughly aggressive, from the beginning, on the Hodges side. Not only was the superiority of Mr. Hodges, in fitness for the mayoralty, over his competitor, assumed, with absurd and flippant presumption, from the very start, but his nomination and proposed election were treated by him as a sort of apotheosis of the "business man," and a final consignment of the "so-called learned professions" to the obscurity which was merited by their unfitness for public affairs. The motives of the leaders in the Reform movement were virulently and recklessly assailed, and Mr. Hodges himself did not hesitate (at Hollins Hall, for instance) to denounce their movement as one which depended upon "machinations, bargains, and pledges," and on "daring and shameless combinations . . . for the division of the spoils." On other occasions

he denounced the Reform party as "without any principle at all." "Soreheadism" was a word which he coined, to express his contemptuous idea of what was at the bottom of it. It was a mere "body of bitter tongues," he said, which "had no sympathy with the people." At Union Park, with exquisite refinement, he called it "a political bastard." His *alter ego*, Mr. John E. Hurst, speaking from the same stand with Mr. Hodges, and in the act of introducing him to the people, among other pleasant and modest observations, described Judge Brown and our late and most respected and lamented fellow-citizen, Mr. George M. Gill, as "parallel" with each other, in having "studied municipal affairs in the days of cobble-stones and omnibuses." We might fill a column with like and more conspicuous examples of that pleasing respect for opponents and that refined decorum of speech, upon the Hodges side, which Mr. Hodges supposes himself to embody and exhibit, and the alleged absence of which, in his opponents, has shocked him so much. Indeed, if we desired to illustrate his pre-eminent delicacy, in the expression of his opinions as to public men whom he antagonizes, we could not do so more delightfully than by quoting what he said in 1880 of Mr. Latrobe, then, as now, mayor of the city. It is worth repeating, as a specimen of what Mr. Hodges is fond of describing as his "literature." "*Among gentlemen*," said he, "*this conduct needs no further comment. This semblance of emasculated courage shows the man as he is—a man without tone, without spirit and without principle.*" It was to this same "semblance, etc." by-the-by, that Mr. Hodges was painfully compelled to offer his "congratulations" and "best wishes" in closing the very speech which is the subject of this article. How it must have refreshed and elevated his sense of democratic wisdom and discrimination, if not gratitude, to find himself—the model "business man"—superseded helplessly, after a two years' trial, not only by such a person as he had described Mr. Latrobe to be, but by a member of one of the "so-called learned professions" besides! Be that as it may, we can hardly bring ourselves to regard a gentleman who could deliberately and publicly use such language in regard to a Mayor, one of whose Finance Commissioners he was, as particularly qualified or entitled to reform the hustings of any campaign "in the interest of public decency." Beyond all question, nothing half so "rancorous" or so gross was said of him, by anybody, during his whole campaign. Undoubtedly his idiosyncrasies and peculiarities were commented upon, because he made them so conspicuous as positively to thrust them upon public notice. His vanity, his self-sufficiency, his assumption of superiority, his absorption of all topics into himself, became more and more obtrusive as the campaign advanced, and he seemed actually to have deluded himself into the belief that the future of the city and the preservation of its commercial and other relations with the South depended upon his defeating a gentleman, whose connection with the Southern struggle was a conspicuous and noble part of the history of the war in Baltimore, and whose sacrifices had endeared him to every man of Southern sympathies. Naturally, such pretensions as these could not escape the comment they provoked, and, unfortunately for Mr. Hodges, their ludicrous absurdity was so large a part of them, that they could hardly be taken seriously, and were in fact ridiculed and laughed at rather than gravely discussed. We undertake to say, without fear of just denial, that while this was a striking and an unavoidable characteristic of the campaign, Mr. Hodges personally has as little reason as any candidate ever had to complain of assaults of any sort upon his private career or character. He was, on all occasions, frankly recognized and treated as a man of unquestionable integrity. His capacity and intelligence were never unfairly disparaged, nor were his personal traits brought for a moment into discussion, except in so far as he developed them in the canvass and they involved his fitness for the place at which he was aiming. His exhibitions of self-esteem and self-confidence were of course discussed, from the standpoint of the likelihood that they would render him doubly accessible to the flatteries and influences of the Bosses who had nominated him, and would fill his official career with personal and obstructive self-illustrations. If any prognosis

ever was fully verified, certainly this was, at every step of his progress. The "business men's movement" turned out, as every one knows, to be a conspicuous failure, in its effect upon Mr. Hodges' success, for he fell behind in every ward and precinct where the class engaged in it had votes or influence, and was really counted in—or "elected," as he prefers to call it—by the returns from the three wards most notoriously boss-ridden, ballot-stuffed, and corrupt in the whole city. Nevertheless he glorified his "victory" as the discriminating gift of the "God of Battles," and depicted the people as crowding around the telegraph stations and listening with painful anxiety for the momentous tidings of his election or defeat. As soon as he went into office, he proclaimed the spoils doctrine in the baldest and most offensive way, in absolute and ostentatious antagonism to the whole tenor of his previous life opinions. He was so carried away by the delusions of his own personality, that he would hear of nobody as a Democrat except a "Hodges Democrat," and turned his back at his "governmental table" upon every reprobate who had "voted for Brown." He required "a Cabinet," like the President, and constructed one, at once, out of the two law officers of the city. With that regard for the amenities of speech which he insists on so strenuously when he is himself referred to, he took the earliest opportunity to characterize by name as his "dead ducks"—the spoil of his own right hand and individual breechloader—the principal gentlemen who had taken part in the canvass against him. He plunged at once into a protracted revel of official speech-making, the like of which was never known before. Such a raid upon the encyclopedias is not recorded in our time. He instructed the St. George's Society in the history of England; enlightened the electricians about electricity; made to the students of the Maryland Institute some fearful and wonderful revelations concerning art; advised the pupils of the Training School as to how they should fit themselves to fill the places in the government of the country, from which the effete membership of the "so-called learned professions" is henceforward to be excluded by "business men"; gave the Charity Organization Conference his own peculiar views of what was best for them; illuminated that highly philosophical body, the Crescent Club, as to the inner philosophy of parties; sent condolence to the Queen of Spain and wrote a letter to Mr. Gladstone; patronized his colored visitors by telling them of the great slaveholding family from which he was descended; and finally, after much intermediate discourse, rejoiced the hearts of the assembled brewers of the country with the welcome information that bock beer went as far back as the Egyptians. Mr. Hodges not only made all these speeches, but was very proud of making them. He told the reporters how many he had made, and actually called them "literary" labors, and classed them among the burdensome and engrossing duties of his office.

That all these performances could pass without comment, and that the mirth—among other feelings—which they universally produced, could fail to find expression, was altogether impossible, and if the general result was one of entertainment, and not of admiration, it was the misfortune of Mr. Hodges. We are very sure that there was no distinction of party in the public judgment upon them. In the meantime, while Mr. Hodges was declining the personal pronoun after the old fashion, in the singular number—"nominative I, possessive mine, objective me," as if he had it all to himself—the practical gentlemen who had nominated and elected him were dealing with it in the plural, and quietly disposing of his patronage to the music of "nominative we, possessive ours, objective us." As his ambition was well known to reach at least the Governorship, they baited their traps for him with it, and not only caused him to waste his liberal hospitality at Barnum's on the eve of the State Convention, but went solemnly through the sham of causing the city delegates to vote for him through several ballots, as if they really and seriously for one moment contemplated his nomination. To almost any one but Mr. Hodges, the audible and visible demonstrations with which the presentation of his name to the Convention was received by its members and the style in which he was finally dropped, if a late revelation, would have been a sufficient one,

and would have suggested the difference between the hold which he really had on the party and the people, and that which he supposed he had. How much his arrogant behavior and the exhibition which he made of himself and his idiosyncrasies, in the matter of his episode with Sergeant Schimp, of the police, may have had to do with disillusionizing all classes, it is not easy to say. It certainly had no little. If anything could have opened the eyes of Mr. Hodges himself, one would have thought it would have been the final fact, that while other gentlemen of his class and calling were vehemently urged over and over to accept the nomination for the mayoralty, some of them even after they had positively declined it, there was not the slightest attempt to put any pressure upon the "innate taste for public life" to which he pleads guilty, and the official mantle was removed from his shoulders, without a word of consolation, to those of a rival whom we have shown that he had publicly denounced as "a man without tone, without spirit, and without principle." Of a truth, such a result might well have caused Mr. Hodges at least to fall back on his reflections and consider whether a nomination by the Ring, which made a Mayor of Mr. Latrobe as well as of himself, was a flattering tribute, as he had supposed it to be, to his reasonable self-esteem and his "business" abilities, to say nothing of his self-respect.

In regard to his bitter complaint of the injustice which he thinks was done him by the address of the Independent Democrats, in speaking of his nominations to office, Mr. Hodges commits his usual error of misunderstanding, in his wrath, and consequently misstating the case. Nobody ever uttered what he calls "the calumnious assertion" that "*his selections* were made from the gambling den and the doors of the penitentiary." The charge made by the address was not wholesale, but in these exact words: "We have seen the Mayor of the city not only presiding over what he calls a governmental table, but taking *many of his guests* from the gambling den and the doors of the penitentiary." Instead of meeting this charge, as he now attempts to meet it, and has likewise attempted it in a letter to his commercial friends, by urging the small number of men with criminal records whom he had appointed, in proportion to the whole number of his appointees, and setting up limitations and "interesting families," and other defenses for the criminals whom he had really appointed, etc., etc., he denied the entire charge outright, and wrote with great rage to Mr. Wm. W. Taylor, the president of a bank in which he is a director, that "a more deliberate and shameless falsehood was never uttered against a respectable citizen holding a public office." The Reform Committee, with great moderation, replied, by merely quoting their accusation and Mr. Hodges' denial, and, treating the issue as simply one of fact between them, produced the names and described the records of about a dozen of his appointees, and submitted the matter of truth or falsehood to the people, on the proof, without comment. Upon the issue so sharply defined, presented and accepted, there could be but one verdict. Mr. Hodges cannot mend things now by misstating that issue or raising another. We ought to add that the Reform Committee did not pretend to confine their case to the names given in their answer, nor does Mr. Hodges touch the real merits of the controversy, by treating the charges made against his nominees as stale, from lapse of time, or unjust, because of their assumed repentance and later good behavior. The wonder and complaint is, not that occasional appointments of bad men should be made, but that the same men—all of them notorious Rasinite ward-rounders—should be appointed year after year, and administration after administration, to the same places, and that sinners of their antecedents, whether repentant sinners or not, should always turn up, and always happen to be favored, and always do the same dirty work at elections, while the Democratic party is full of respectable poor men, of honest callings and honorable reputations, who have no apologies to make for their past lives, and who would be delighted to get bread for their children, by the upright discharge of faithful duty, in the offices from which they are elbowed forever, by Mr. Hodges' "University" professors, the Buchheimers and the Buseys.

THE PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK.

IN December, 1886, the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER said, "The most obvious lesson of the election of 1886 is that no party has a sure thing of the country in 1888." The outcome of the various political contests of this year has confirmed the truth of this statement. There is nothing whatever in the mere figures of the late elections to justify the confident tone of the Democratic press and politicians. It is true that the Democratic chances are, we believe, better than those of the Republicans, but this fact is not shown by the election returns. These, considered by themselves and in comparison with those of the elections immediately preceding the presidential campaign of 1884, offer a good deal of encouragement to the opposite party. The presidential election of 1884 was as close as any election could possibly be. It was so close that any trivial accident might have reversed the result, and the beaten party has always believed that one or two trivial accidents of the last few days of the canvass did deprive it of the victory it would otherwise have had. In other words, the two parties were evenly matched in that memorable struggle. Yet, in the last state elections before the opening of that year the Republicans had won in only thirteen States with but 124 electoral votes. Even in those States in which they were victorious their majorities were as a rule small. The Democrats had carried all the other 25 States with their 277 electoral votes. In the North as a whole the Republican plurality in the popular vote was less than 40,000. The Republicans approach the campaign of 1888 having carried 18 States with 194 electoral votes, and having a plurality in the Northern States of close to a quarter of a million votes. The Democrats have carried 19 States with 199 electoral votes, and in one, California, the election was practically a drawn battle. When they began to fight the campaign of 1884 the Republicans had to arrange to win back Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, all of which are now to all appearances safely anchored in the Republican column. Then their majorities in Illinois and Nebraska were so small as to give them concern for those States; now these majorities are so large as to preclude any probability of danger. They will therefore not have to fight over as much ground as they did in 1884.

It is worth our while to examine the situation more in detail. Let us first look at the States which the Republicans carried in 1884, to see whether there is any indication in the returns of the late elections that they will lose any of them. In New England, Maine and Vermont are of course secure. New Hampshire gave a very small plurality last year—only about half that given in 1882—but the presidential pluralities in that State are uniformly larger than those given in off years. Massachusetts clearly cannot be carried by the Democrats unless Mugwumps and "bhoys" work together, and probably not then. It is very probable that work together they will not. If the Mugwumps are enthusiastic, the "bhoys" may sell out. If the Mugwumps do not go into the fight, the Democratic candidate will be beaten in advance. Rhode Island seems to be sure for the Republicans, the outcome of the special congressional election in the western district in November effectually removing any doubt as to its political status which the Democratic victory in the spring might have raised. Pennsylvania, which in 1883 gave a Republican plurality of 17,000, rolls up 45,000 this year. Ohio in 1883 elected Hoadley by a plurality of 12,000; it now returns Foraker with 23,000, and the rest of the Republican nominees by a plurality of 29,000, for the bloody shirt orator fell behind all his associates on the ticket. Illinois in 1882 went Republican by 5000 and in 1886 by 35,000. The Democratic party in Cook County (Chicago) seems hopelessly demoralized. Michigan in 1882 went Democratic, or rather Fusion, by 4000, in 1886 Republican by 7000. This is a State which it is possible that the Democrats may win, but the chances are against them. Wisconsin was in 1882 carried by the Democrats by nearly ten thousand; in 1886 Rusk, Republican, had over 18,000. Minnesota was almost won by the Democrats in 1886, the Republican plurality being about 2500. Minnesota may in the end become a Democratic State if parties divide on the tariff, but the change will not come to pass as early as 1888. Iowa is

Republican by a little less than the plurality for Blaine, and is likely to remain so in 1888. In Kansas there is of course no doubt. Nebraska, which in 1882 gave only 5000, this year went over 20,000 Republican. Colorado in 1882, and again in 1886, elected a Democratic Governor and a Republican Congressman. As its Democrat plurality in 1882 was quite as large as in 1886, there is no special reason to suppose that it will fail to give in 1888 its usual Republican majority. In 1882 Nevada went Democratic, but in 1886 Republican. Oregon elected a Democratic Governor in 1886, but a Republican Secretary of State and Congressman. California in 1882 gave a Democratic plurality of 23,000, in 1884 a Republican plurality of 13,000, and in 1886 elected a Democratic Governor by a plurality of a few hundred, a Republican Lieutenant Governor by a larger plurality, and gave a Republican plurality on the congressional vote of about 2500. It is always a doubtful State, but in presidential elections usually goes Republican. All that can be said of it now is that the Republican party is apparently in far better shape than it was in the year preceding the election of 1884. There is therefore no State carried by Blaine in 1884 in which the Republicans do not appear to have as good a chance, at least, as they had four years ago, and in some of the most important of them they are much stronger than they then were. How is it with the States which went for Cleveland? In the South all of them are certain for the Democratic nominee except Virginia and West Virginia. In Virginia the Democrats have this year carried the State by a majority on the popular vote of about 3500. In 1883 they had 20,000, but Cleveland had but 6000 in 1884. If it should turn out that the Republican party as a national organization is now as much stronger than the Republican party as a Mahone attachment, as it was four years ago, Virginia will go Republican in 1888. The chances, however, are decidedly good for a Democratic victory in that State next year. In West Virginia the Democratic plurality last year was but 900. Influences are at work which in the end may very possibly make both the Virginias Republican, but for the present both of them are likely to remain in the Democratic column.

Of the Northern States which went for Cleveland, the Democratic prospects in Indiana are worse than they have been for twenty years. The Republican party has in that period carried the State at three presidential elections, but until 1886 it never succeeded in electing its State ticket in an off year. The marked revival of Republicanism in the West which the election returns of this and last year seem to indicate, has had something to do with bringing about this state of things in Indiana, but it is principally due to the abuses in the distribution of State and Federal patronage. The Democratic party has abandoned itself to the worst abuses of the spoils system. The effect in that State, as in Maryland, has been to induce the Republicans to take strong Civil Service Reform grounds, and the latter party has consequently gained in strength and influence. In 1882 Indiana gave a Democratic plurality of 10,000, reduced at the presidential election to 6000. In 1886 it went Republican by 3000. New Jersey in 1887 went Republican, in 1883 Democratic. There is no question that the State has been tending towards the Republican party for some years, but it is hardly likely to become Republican by 1888, unless the tariff question should be the main issue of the canvass. Connecticut in 1882 gave a Democratic plurality of 4100, in 1886 a Democratic plurality of 1800. As the Republican party in Connecticut is usually stronger in presidential than in off years, the chances are that Connecticut will be very close ground in 1888. New York in 1883 elected a Republican Secretary of State, but the rest of the Democratic ticket was elected by pluralities about the same as those of this year. The really serious feature for the Republicans in the outlook in New York is that the Republican local machine in New York City, always corrupt, but formerly very efficient, has become completely demoralized. The Democratic party, on the other hand, was forced into a local union by the necessity of presenting a firm front in 1886 to the George movement, and there is now no opportunity to make the trades in aid of the Republican State and National tickets in which the Republican machine used to be so expert. The consequence

is that the Republican vote in New York City was smaller than it had been at a state election for many years. The chances are that the Democratic majority in the city next year will not be less than 60,000, and against such a majority as that there is little chance of the Republicans carrying the State.

The review which we have just made is based entirely on the figures. In it we have assumed that, as in the past, so now. It is by no means certain, however, this assumption will be realized. The Republicans for twenty-five years were uniformly stronger at presidential elections than in off years. Will they be so now? If they are they will win the presidential election of 1888, for they will carry every Northern State but New York. If, on the other hand, the Democratic party, being the party in power, shall develop greater strength in national than in local contests, the Republicans will lose all the States they lost in 1884, and possibly one or two more. In any event the Democrats are reasonably certain of the South and New York, or 189 votes all told. In each one of the Northern States except New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the Republicans now seem to have a better chance of carrying the State than the Democrats. They have a chance in New Jersey and Connecticut, but the odds are against them. There seems to be very little prospect that they can carry New York. As long as there are but two Southern States at all doubtful and these have but 16 votes between them, while of the 197 votes above credited the Republicans, 65 at least can be fought for without the fight being altogether desperate, the Democrats will win unless all the chances go against them. With a Democratic administration in power, they are not likely to lose all the doubtful States. But with the coming contest as close and doubtful as it now promises to be, neither party can safely defy or ignore the independent vote; and no candidate can afford to run the risk of repelling that vote by unworthy concessions to the spoils men of his party. Mr. Cleveland has by his open alliance with the Gorman machine in Maryland, his endorsement of Lovering in Massachusetts, and his really scandalous interference in favor of Fellows, unquestionably made it impossible for the Independents to support him, if they support him at all, with the enthusiasm they felt in 1884.

BREAKERS AHEAD!

OUR criminal law, if intended solely to ensure the detection and punishment of crime, would be open to serious criticism. Guilty men often escape well deserved penalties, through the observance of technical formalities which appear at first sight to have no reason for existence in the public interest. Such failures of justice are doubly regrettable, because they both impair among criminals the salutary terror inspired by a prospect of certain and speedy retribution, and also suggest, and in some sort justify, the lawless violence which from time to time summarily avenges offenses against society, arousing widespread indignation or alarm. Writers who look upon the effective vindication of the law as the only end of criminal procedure almost universally prefer the system of Continental Europe to that which we share with our mother country and her unemancipated colonies. Many of those safeguards which the common law provides for a prisoner presumed to be innocent, seem to them obsolete and useless, if not positively injurious to the community. A thoughtful student of English and American history is more indulgent to these seeming shelters for guilt. He recognizes in them bulwarks of personal freedom, and remembers that in the past they have protected our fathers from that greatest of evils, oppression under the forms of law. Some recent events in Maryland may well suggest doubts whether they are not still needed to defend citizens from partisan malice in public officers.

We reviewed fully in our April number the prosecution of John E. Burgess, but its more striking features may be well recalled to our readers' attention. A colored man of good reputation and respectable antecedents stated casually that the Sheriff had sought to buy his vote. An agent of

the Reform League heard of the statement, and had him summoned before the Grand Jury, who, upon his testimony, presented the Sheriff. The latter thereupon caused a number of police officers, after a conference in his private office, to appear before the Grand Jury and procure, not only the ignoring of the presentment against himself, but the indictment of his involuntary accuser for perjury. Simultaneously with this articles were published in certain newspapers, plainly intended to prejudice public opinion against the unfortunate man thus unexpectedly placed in a position of extreme peril. When we remember his humble circumstances, and the very serious consequences to himself and his family with which he was threatened, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that, if he had not been a man of somewhat unusual firmness, and had not, moreover, been assured of the League's assistance in his defense, a false confession might have been extorted from him by the promise of a recommendation to the Court's mercy, which would have been loudly trumpeted as the "vindication" which his prosecutor so sorely needed. The outcome was indeed very different from what Mr. Fledderman and his compurgators of the police wished or expected; he and they were in effect found, by a fairly chosen jury, unworthy of belief, and had "a cruel sunshine" cast upon their far from edifying histories and associations. But because a bold and well devised scheme to send a poor and innocent man to the penitentiary in order to shield an influential and guilty one from further exposure may have happily failed in this instance, we must not be blind to the dangers it discloses, for any citizen who may venture to make himself obnoxious to a political party which nominates such a Sheriff and tolerates, nay promotes, such policemen.

These dangers were more clearly indicated by the unwarrantable arrest and detention of the pretended "repeaters" on the eve of the late municipal election, upon which we commented in our last number. More than a month has elapsed, yet no shadow of proof is forthcoming to show that this transaction was aught but a device of the Democratic managers to influence public opinion at a critical moment of the campaign; the detectives, the Police Marshal and the committing magistrate have not attempted to explain by what right they caused the imprisonment for three days of some fifty individuals charged on no evidence with an imaginary crime. It is true that the sufferers seem to have been for the most part persons for whom a few days in jail involved no special hardship, but it is hardly safe to trust to the discretion of our officials the choice of material for such singular experiments in political strategy. Their *corpora vilia* may have been this time mostly tramps and loafers; but who knows that the interest of the Democratic party will not demand as a similar sacrifice the liberty and reputation of some of its "slanderers" in the next campaign? As to this the experience of Edward Allers is not reassuring. Just before the close of the polls at the mayoralty election a young man named Dailey, a Democratic "worker," was killed by a pistol shot during a disturbance at the ninth precinct of the seventeenth ward. Allers, who had been at the polls all day in the Reform interest, and had quarrelled with Dailey, was arrested on suspicion and held to await the result of the coroner's inquest. When this was held, the State's Attorney, a candidate for re-election at the approaching general election, asked that the inquest should be held in private; himself, Allers' counsel and the reporters being alike excluded. This very unusual request, for which no adequate reason was given, was granted by the coroner against the protest of the prisoner's counsel, and as a result the jury of inquest found that Allers had fired the fatal shot, and the coroner committed him for the action of the Grand Jury, who in due time indicted him for murder. Meantime the State election took place, Mr. Kerr was re-elected, and the Democratic majority in the seventeenth ward increased from 483 to 666 in his favor; Allers, of course, being in jail. He applied afterwards, however, to be admitted to bail notwithstanding the indictment, and on the hearing of the *habeas corpus* granted for this purpose, the witnesses who had testified before the coroner and the Grand Jury, being for the first time subjected to cross-examination, failed entirely to con-

nect him with the killing, and the State's Attorney consented to his release on bail, after more than a month's imprisonment. It is still possible that he may be tried; we therefore refrain from any comment on his case beyond expressing the hope that its further developments may be such as to remove any suspicion that Mr. Kerr asked the coroner to hold his inquest in private because the evidence against Allers was so inconclusive that a public hearing must have resulted in his discharge, and he was a man whom "the life of the Democratic party" required to be in confinement when a State's Attorney was to be elected.

The defeat of Mr. Gans here, and that of De Lancy Nicoll in New York, are especially regrettable, because a different result in either case would have strengthened the growing and highly salutary sentiment in favor of "taking out of politics" the offices they sought. A public prosecutor elected as and because he is a partisan can hardly do his full duty to the State. The discretion entrusted to him is necessarily so wide that its abuse for the benefit of political friends or to the prejudice of political enemies will be inevitably, however unjustly, suspected; and a State's Attorney in whose absolute integrity the public no longer believes, whatever his abilities, is fatally hampered in his official action. Nor is a high personal reputation a sufficient protection against such injurious misgivings. The temptation to partisanship is so great, and men previously deemed worthy yield to it so often, that no one so placed can ask the public to excuse an equivocal action on the plea of good intentions and a blameless past. The President of the Police Board is a man of excellent reputation, so far as we know, and, in common with his colleagues, he is sworn to a strictly non-partisan discharge of his duties; nevertheless a large number of his fellow-citizens believe him to share, at least, responsibility for an abuse of the Board's authority over the polling places at the late general election, in the interest of the party to which he owes his position, and for a failure to adequately punish gross partisanship as well as official misconduct among the force. We do not propose to discuss now the justice of this opinion: we merely assert its prevalence, and draw the obvious moral that if we would retain for officers charged with the protection of society against its natural enemies the public confidence which they need to fulfil their trust, we must so choose them that no man can plausibly question their impartiality. A Police Board and a State's Attorney elected on the "spoils" principle will be always thought to be, and may very readily become in fact, a shield for criminals serviceable to the dominant party, a menace to its honest political opponents.

MONEY IN CITY ELECTIONS—ITS EFFECTS, AND THE REMEDIES.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Commonwealth Club:—In asking me to open the discussion this evening, your Executive Committee suggest that I take up the subject at the point where Mr. Ivins left it at your last meeting, and give, as concisely and completely as I can, the main effects of the evil and the remedies therefor. In endeavoring to do this, I shall imitate Mr. Ivins' excellent example and confine myself closely to facts. In order to proceed intelligently, it will be necessary to recapitulate very briefly the main points of his paper. Stated in broad and general terms, the leading facts of it are these: In every general election in this city there is expended in money about \$700,000. Of this amount, \$290,000 is contributed by the city for legal expenses; \$210,000 is derived from assessments upon candidates, and \$200,000 is obtained by assessments upon officeholders and through contributions from the rich men of the various parties. This money is divided among about 45,000 men, who do the work about the polls. Of this 45,000, about 8000, or ten for each district, are employed by the city. The remaining 37,000, or forty-six for each district, are paid by the political organizations or machines. It will be seen that it takes nearly five times as many men to do the political as it does to do the legal work.

* From an address before The Commonwealth Club in New York, March 21, 1887, by Joseph B. Bishop.

ASSESSMENTS UPON OFFICEHOLDERS.

Assessments upon officeholders average about as follows:

CANDIDATE.	ASSESSMENT.
Mayor (for three machines).....	\$25,000 to \$30,000
Supreme Judge (for two or more machines)...	10,000 to 20,000
Superior Judge (for two or more machines)....	10,000 to 15,000
Common Pleas (for two or more machines)....	10,000 to 15,000
Register.....	15,000 to 40,000
Comptroller.....	10,000
Sheriff.....	10,000
County Clerk.....	10,000
District Attorney.....	5,000
Congress.....	5,000 to 10,000
State Senator.....	5,000 to 10,000
Assembly.....	500 to 1,000

In addition to the \$700,000 actually paid out on election day, there is at least \$1,000,000 at stake to be drawn from the city treasury during the year by those of the district leaders and their subordinates whose political usefulness wins for them places on the city's pay rolls. One other fact, and the summary will be sufficiently complete for our purpose. The 45,000 who divide this \$700,000 among themselves on election day, and who play for the stake of \$1,000,000 in salaries, number about one-fifth of our entire voting population.

There is the evil, gentlemen. Now let us see what are the effects. Stated in a single sentence, the one great and final effect has been to make the government of this city a matter of bargain and sale. The price of a nomination for Mayor being from \$25,000 to \$30,000, no man who could not pay that has had a chance of being nominated. So with all the other high offices, the first question has not been, Is the man fit for the place? but, Can he pay the assessment? The question of fitness has been secondary, and has not entered at all into some of the nominations. In general it may be said that it has been allowed to have weight only when, for the sake of success at the polls, it was necessary, in the immortal language of the late Fernando Wood, to "pander a little to the moral sense of the community." Yet even then it has rarely or never happened that the candidate chosen has not so combined wealth and fitness that he was able to pay his assessment. In this way we have sometimes succeeded in getting excellent candidates for Mayor, and it must be admitted that we have usually secured desirable candidates for the important judgeships. But when we look at the lower offices, the results are by no means so encouraging. Can anybody remember when we have had nominated for the various county offices a single candidate who on the basis of merit and fitness would ever have been thought of for the place? Is it not true that for years every one of the successful candidates for these offices has literally bought his place? The same thing is true of the minor judgeships and of the candidates for State Legislature and Board of Aldermen.

THE EFFECT OF ASSESSMENTS.

Consider for a moment the effect of assessments upon candidates after they get into office. If a candidate be a rich man at the time he pays for his nomination, and if he has gone into office out of a laudable ambition to do good public service and make a reputation for himself, the results are usually entirely satisfactory. This is often the case with our Mayors, and is almost always the case with our Judges. The terms of the latter are so long, and their salaries are so high, that they are able to make up the deficiency within a few years. But, on the other hand, if the candidates are poor men when they buy their nominations, and have to borrow the money and give liens upon their future salaries as security, what is the result? In nine cases out of ten it leads them into all sorts of efforts to get the most money possible out of their offices. If they cannot increase their incomes legitimately, the temptation is very strong to increase them by opposite means. If a candidate's friends have helped him to pay his assessment, when he gets into office he must pay them back by finding "places" for them in his department, or in other ways enabling them to reimburse themselves from the public crib.

It is upon candidates for legislative positions that the assessment practice has had the most deplorable influence.

It has had the effect of calling into politics a class of men who look upon office as a business. They buy a nomination for the Legislature or the Board of Aldermen, paying therefor two or three, or even ten times as much as the salary of the place, calculating upon getting their money back by the sale of their influence and votes. The Broadway bribery scandal was the natural outcome of this. The men who sold their votes in that case spoke freely of their office as the "Aldermanic business," and were in the habit of discussing among themselves the "profits" which they were able to make. So it is in the Legislature. One Senator, who was generally known as the "wicked Gibbs," spent two years at Albany, in which he pursued his "business" so shamelessly that his constituents refused to send him there again, but he coolly came out a year later and begged for a return to the Assembly, on the ground that he was financially embarrassed, and wished to go to the Assembly in order to retrieve his fortunes on the salary of an Assemblyman, which is \$1500.

THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

Who decide upon our candidates? Does the popular voice enter into the question at all? Do we hold a popular convention, or anything resembling even a delegate convention? Nothing of the sort. A few leaders of Tammany Hall, a few leaders of the County Democracy, and a few leaders of Irving Hall, meet in their various headquarters and talk it over first. They find out who can pay the largest assessments for the highest offices, and who of those who can thus pay who are so palpably unfit that the people would refuse to vote for them. These they bar out as undesirable. Then they divide up the offices among the others, usually giving the preferences to those who can be depended upon if elected to use the office for all it is worth for the benefit of the party.

Take the proceedings of last fall as an example. The candidacy of Henry George had so complicated matters that even Tammany was convinced that a candidate for Mayor must be nominated who would command the support of the respectable portion of the community. That conviction was strong enough to induce them to name Mr. Hewitt for Mayor. He in turn was strong enough to force Tammany to take Mr. Beekman for President of the Board of Aldermen. So far, although the people had had no direct voice in the nominations, they had, through the press, exerted influence enough to make those two sufficiently good to satisfy public demands. The same influence also was strong enough to give us good candidates for nearly all the judgeships, and for that we had great reason for thankfulness. But what happened with reference to the rest of the ticket? The chief leaders of Tammany and the County Democracy sat down and parcelled out the nominations as if they had been children dividing up a pint of peanuts. Tammany would take the Assemblyman in one district and the County Democracy would take the Alderman, and *vice versa* in another district. The nominations so divided were then sold on the best terms which could be secured for the benefit of the two machines. When it came to the eight congressional districts they were divided about evenly, and union candidates were agreed upon in each. We all remember what the result was. With the exception of two, possibly three, districts, there was not a congressional candidate in the field whom an honest man could take any pleasure in voting for. As for the Assembly and aldermanic districts, the candidates there were no better and no worse than usual. All the nominations had literally been sold for one consideration or another. The people of the city, as a whole, had no more voice in the nominations than the citizens of Pennsylvania had. Could there be a more monstrous perversion of the theory of popular government than this? It is government, not by the virtue and intelligence of the community, but by its ignorance, depravity and cupidity.

Under the machine system this must always be the case. The men in the machines, being in there to get a living, naturally adopt the means and choose the candidates most likely to make their business more profitable. Between a reformer and a corruptionist they will always choose the latter, because the more extravagant and corrupt the rule of the city the better will be the living they will get.

MACHINE-MADE LEGISLATORS.

The men who go to the Legislature and to the Board of Aldermen are precisely the same kind as you find in control of the machines. They are the same in all machines. They have different party labels, but their business is precisely the same. They are in it from the same motives, and they will always combine or "deal" to make their general profits larger. There are very few of them who would not change their party labels any day, if by so doing they could make a better living. They are simply political mercenaries. Their favorite places of meeting are the liquor saloons. Of one thousand primaries and meetings held by them in connection with the campaign of 1884, over seven hundred were held in liquor saloons or rooms adjoining them. We have heard a great deal, first and last, of the danger to our institutions of having the Civil Service exempted from politics, thus building up an aristocracy of officeholders. There are in the Federal service about 115,000 places, and of these only 14,000 are as yet covered by the Civil Service law. The classified service in the State of New York extends to 15,179 places, of which 7355 are in the City of New York. Our 45,000 machine mercenaries, therefore, number more than three times the classified Federal service of the United States, three times the entire classified service of the State of New York, and over six times the classified service of the City of New York. They outnumber the State and municipal classified services by 30,000, and they number more than one third as many as the entire classified and unclassified Federal services of the whole country. I leave it to you, gentlemen, to decide which is the greater peril to our institutions—the taking of the 7000 or 8000 industrious and trained employees out of active politics in this city, or the leaving of the 45,000 mercenaries in.

The steps by which we have reached this condition of affairs have been perfectly logical, and the outcome is the natural and inevitable one. The city pays the expense of registering, receiving and recording the ballot, but makes no provision for its printing and distribution. To supply this necessary expense the assessments had to be made; to supply the means of distribution the workers had to be hired. As the city grew in size, so did the expenses and assessments, and so did the number of workers. From doing the political work on election day, the machines passed naturally to doing all the political work, including nominations. The great body of respectable citizens not only declined to provide legal machinery for the printing and distribution of ballots; they also declined to take any hand in the selection of candidates. They were too busy to take active part in political work, and the consequence was that those who were not busy turned their hands to the job. It is useless to try to shift the responsibility, and it is equally useless to attempt to remedy the present evils by urging respectable citizens to attend the

primaries and do the work at the polls. They have been urged and exhorted for years, but they will not go. Reform must come in another way. If the intelligence and respectability of the city will not do the work, then they must provide to have it done by legal machinery. As the assessments have been the main root of all the evils, so the removal of the necessity for assessments will be the first step toward reform.

THE REMEDIES.

This brings us to a statement of the remedies for corruption and bribery in elections, which I will make as brief as possible.

First.—Take away the necessity for assessments by having the ballots printed and distributed by the city and at the city's expense.

Second.—Have the expenditures of candidates limited by law, and have a public statement of all outlays by the candidates or their agents made obligatory after election.

Third.—Have a law similar to the "English Corrupt Practices Act" enacted, forbidding bribery and undue influences of all kinds, and fixing penalties.

The abolition of assessments would be a deadly blow to the machines. They would lose at one stroke their chief means of subsistence and their cause of being. By assuming the expense of printing and distributing the ballots the city would pay directly what it pays indirectly now, and would save immensely by the change. All the great expense of running the machines comes finally out of the pockets of the taxpayers. It is estimated that two additional poll clerks for each election district would be sufficient to do all the work of distribution of ballots on election day. Instead of 37,000 men, as we now have, to do this work for three machines, we should thus get along with 1600, or at most 2000. All the others would be thrown out of business. The city could do the whole additional work for one-fifth more than it pays for legal services at present, \$290,000, making a total of only \$348,000 against the \$700,000 which the machines cost us. And, what is of far greater importance, we should stop the direct bribery which now goes on under the disguise of hiring workers.

[To be concluded.]

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THE Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. IV. — No. 1.

BALTIMORE, JANUARY, 1888.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

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BALTIMORE, JANUARY, 1888.

PRICE TEN CENTS.

THE MONTH.

GOVERNOR HILL'S conduct in regard to the Board of Civil Service Commissioners of the State of New York has justly aroused the indignation and alarm of friends of Civil Service Reform everywhere. It appears that he requested the resignation of the excellent and efficient Board appointed by President Cleveland, when Governor of the State, on the ground that the Board stood in the relation of "advisers" of the executive department, and that its members, therefore, should properly receive their commissions from the Governor who was required to take their "advice." This position was of itself an abrogation of the entire spirit and intention of the law, and the members of the Board very properly refused to tender their resignations on any such grounds, whereupon the Governor promptly met the issue by appointing their successors. The new Board consists of Daniel E. Sickles, a familiar old war-horse spoils politician, whose selection as president of the Board could only be intended to cast ridicule upon it; James H. Manning, a brother of the late Secretary of the Treasury, and until now connected with the Albany *Argus*; and George H. Treadwell, a prominent leader in the Grand Army of the Republic. The first official act of the Board was to dismiss the Chief Examiner, William Potts, and to appoint in his place John B. Riley, a well known Clinton County politician, who seems to have kept himself well supplied with offices for some time past, and who is now Superintendent of Indian Schools under an appointment from the Secretary of the Interior. Until some better explanation is forthcoming, this can only be taken as an open declaration of war. The present indications are that much of the good which has resulted in New York and much of the splendid progress of the cause there may be undone.

It will not be forgotten that Governor Hill, in his annual message of January, 1886, when he was in training for the presidential nomination, and at a time when Civil Service Reform notions seemed to be necessary attributes for an aspirant, declared that "the methods of Civil Service (*sic*) are producing good results; that they are steadily improving the character and efficiency of the service, and bringing relief to public officials from the burdens and hindrances and importunities for place." Again: "Like all genuine reforms, aiming only at good government and the public welfare, this reform is likely to be universally accepted. The State of New York, always foremost in administrative reforms and the adoption of salutary measures of improvement, has taken the lead in this reform." In the same message he says: "The fundamental idea of this reform, that public office is a trust to be exercised solely for the public welfare, and that offices should be filled only by those best qualified for the service rendered, after their fitness has been ascertained by proper tests, is the cornerstone of popular government The selection of public servants pursuant to the forms of law and on the ground of public merit, instead of by the untrammelled will and caprice of an official, is the safeguard of our institutions and of popular

rights." And finally: "Open competition rests on the solid basis of equal rights and fair play, and is a principle so democratic in its character, so completely in harmony with the theory of our institutions and the spirit of our people, that the method would seem to commend itself to universal approval." Perhaps our readers will also remember that an extract from this message was inserted in the appendix to the Third Annual Report of the National Civil Service Commission, and that it was expunged from it on the motion of Senator Gorman.

It is too soon as yet to say how far this unfortunate incident is local and how far national in its importance, or how far it concerns only the Democratic organization of the State of New York, and how far the National Democratic party must share in the responsibility for it. Those who credit President Cleveland with the sudden conversion of Governor Hill to reform views in 1886, may, perhaps, hold him responsible for his apostasy in 1887. Nor is the inquiry altogether unreasonable as to whether Governor Hill would not have stood by his bold utterances from which we have quoted, if the President of the United States, from whom he borrowed them, had stood manfully by his. Fair people must at least admit that if to-day the cause of Civil Service Reform is impeded, this is largely because a President who solemnly pledged his faith to uphold it, and who has had it in his hands to make that pledge good, has deliberately subordinated its interests to others. This journal would be the last to underestimate the value of bold and straightforward language in public men, but it seems doubtful whether sound teaching followed by totally inconsistent practice is not even worse in its effects upon general public standards than the cloudy political oracles to which we have become accustomed from our political men, which can at least be fitted to almost any course of action without necessitating falsehood or hypocrisy. It is at least certain that edifying utterances often disarm the vigilance of public opinion; and an open enemy is not seldom less harmful than an uncertain friend. Happily, the final triumph of Civil Service Reform is dependent upon no individual or party organization. It is essential to the people's welfare and will never long lack champions. Indeed, even temporary discouragements are signs of progress, if the history of the movement must resemble that of other reforms which conflict with powerful interests.

Has President Cleveland bewitched our Northern brethren by his bold and intelligent support of tariff reform? How else are we to account for the meek and almost acquiescent way in which they have received Governor Hill's attack upon the cause? The New York *Times*, which spoke of the Governor's demand for the resignation of the old Commission in a mild little paragraph, and declared that the character of the new appointees (whose names, by the way, had been publicly announced the day before) would show what the Governor really meant, has since apparently forgotten all about the matter, and, so far as our observation goes, has never mentioned the subject again. The *Evening Post*, in the same paper in which it speaks of Governor Hill's mes-

sage as "a plain, sensible, straightforward document, without any bunkum or demagoguery in it, or anything on which one cannot differ with him respectfully," says (the italics are ours):

What the Governor's motives in removing them [the old Board] are, can of course only be guessed at. *His new appointments do not shed much light on the matter.* From Mr. Manning and Mr. Treadwell it is perhaps fair to expect an honest attempt to execute the law. *As regards the new President of the Board, Gen. Sickles, we shall have to get used to him in the character of a reformer before being able to pass any judgment on his merits. It will not do, however, to condemn the new Commissioners in advance.* No matter what we may think of the motives or manner of their appointment, *we are bound to give them a fair trial,* and hope for the best from them. Possibly the fact that they are the Governor's own selection may help to secure from him more cordial co-operation than he was willing to give their predecessors.

This is a new form of political morality, indeed. How long has it been since it became part of the creed of the *Evening Post* that "it will not do to condemn" a notoriously unfit appointment "in advance"—that is, before the new appointee has been actually guilty of conduct in office consistent with his record? Did our contemporary "feel bound" to give Higgins "a fair trial"? And is it straightforward for the *Evening Post* to declare that it will have "to get used to" General Sickles "before being able to pass any judgment upon his merits"? How long has it been since the editor of the *Post* revealed to the public the private character of General Sickles when he was selected to represent the United States at the Spanish capital? If he will turn back a few volumes he will find all the facts connected with the General's notorious career set out in full in the columns of the *Nation*.

MR. EUGENE HIGGINS retires to private life as we go to press. He has been for two years a public nuisance, and we shall be glad to drop his name from our columns. The Administration can claim no credit for dismissing him at this late day, nor do we understand from Secretary Fairchild's letter accepting his "resignation" that any such credit is claimed. It may well be that the Administration determined not to go before the country next fall with its hands unwashed of so notorious a scandal, and thus to furnish the Republican orator with such a fair subject of comment. Mr. Higgins has, however, played his part in the general political progress. His extraordinary "case" has been a valuable object lesson to the nation at large. The indignation aroused throughout the country by his appointment and retention ought certainly to have taught our rulers a lesson. In fact, Higgins is a typical product of the spoils system, whose history does more to convince men of the gross abuses inseparable from that system than volumes of treatises can do; and as his case was discussed and examined in all its bearings, its lessons became plain to every thoughtful person. Illustrating as it did the iron grip of the Senior Senator from Maryland upon President Cleveland, it explained the trials of the executive department under the domination of a Senate acting first of all to secure "spoils" to its members. It will, we hope, teach the President that nothing is gained by obstinately offending the public sense of decency, and that the apparent advantages of such unworthy compliance are more than offset by a heavy loss in the people's confidence. Even a practical politician will now admit that the immediate dismissal of Higgins would have been a politic as well as honorable act for the President; a course wiser as well as

braver than to keep him in office until the question of a second term became imminent. The action of the Democratic caucus of the Maryland Legislature in rejecting his "claims" completes the story. It is a credit to the State that its legislators refused to disgrace the State House by the presence of Eugene Higgins. Let us hope that his career will now at last cease to be an incentive to political crime; by its scandalous prosperity.

THE Fiftieth Congress has serious business before it. If there were any hope that the important matters which have already been brought to its attention would be calmly considered and intelligently discussed, it might be said that there were many signs of important political progress. The settlement of the surplus scandal, to which we have adverted at length in another column, of itself would give this session a place in history. Postal telegraphy, international copyright, and a hundred other matters requiring legislative independence and wisdom, will be brought at once before both houses. The bill for national aid to education and the Dependent Pension Bill will take up their usual unfair share of time, only to meet, we hope, with their usual fate. Unhappily, both parties are now at parade rest, posing for the next presidential campaign, and there is but little hope that this Congress will prove more practical than the last. The construction of the committees of the House seems to give reasonable satisfaction, but the Committee on the Reform of the Civil Service could hardly be worse. It is stated that the chairman, Representative Clements, of Georgia, who was a member of the last committee, voted last year in favor of the repeal of the present law. If many of the others share the opinions of Representative Rusk of Maryland, whom Mr. Carlisle has placed on the committee, the cause will fare but badly in its hands. Mr. Rusk is the president of the "Calumet Club" of this city, which is a spoils organization organized in the interests of "Boss" Rasin. Its officers and members, as we have shown before in these columns, consist entirely of office-holders and office-seekers. Mr. Rusk has always been so outspoken in his hostility to the competitive system that his friends will wonder why he allowed himself to be made a member of a committee whose duty it will be to support it.

THE Legislature of Maryland for 1888 has met, and its proceedings have thus far been marked by an unusual degree of dignity and good sense. Governor Lloyd's message was in the main unobjectionable. His extraordinary advice in regard to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal receives our attention elsewhere. There is positively an embarrassment of riches in the matter of election laws. Mr. Denny has obtained leave to introduce the law urged by Attorney-General Whyte, whose letter on the subject we print in another column. Mr. Joyce has leave to introduce an election law which is generally supposed to express the views of the Crescent Club. Mr. Poe's code is ready for presentation, which, if we are to believe the *Baltimore Sun*, contains an exact copy of the law proposed by the Baltimore Reform League, except that it provides for three election commissioners for each of the three legislative districts of Baltimore City, instead of three for the whole city, as proposed by the Reform League; denies to the minority member of the boards the right of veto power in the appointment of judges and clerks, and amends the sixth section of the bill by striking out the clause allowing an appeal to the courts from the decisions of the board in the matter of

the appointment of the judges and clerks. All of the bills introduced are modelled after the bill framed by the Reform League. If the newspaper accounts are correct, all three of the bills above mentioned concede annual registration in Baltimore City, with quadrennial registration for the counties. Provisions for minority representation, watchers, glass ballot-boxes, etc., etc., are also embraced in all the bills. The Reform League Bill will also be introduced, and the Legislature will then have four bills for its consideration, any one of which will be a vast improvement upon the present law. But let us have the best: not necessarily under the name of the Reform League Election Law, but with all its good points and any others which Messrs. Whyte, Poe or Joyce, or anybody else can suggest. The Reform League, as we said in our last issue, has no pride of authorship. Its bill has, however, been prepared with great care, and we urge upon the members of the Legislature to examine its text before voting upon the other bills. If we can avoid "snakes," the result as well of carelessness as design, an effective election law is assured.

THE Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland has prepared a bill for the reform of the civil service of Maryland, which we print in full elsewhere. Copies of the bill have been sent to prominent men in the State, with the request they will suggest any criticisms or alterations which may occur to them, and after a careful revision the bill will be introduced in both houses of the Legislature. If it becomes a law, as we earnestly hope it will, and is enforced, entrance to the subordinate executive offices of the State and city governments will be by open and practical competitive examinations in which the best man will win, and will be wholly independent of political influence or political services. The tenure of office will practically depend upon the industry, efficiency and good conduct of the incumbent, and no longer upon partisan work in office, the payment of political assessments, or the exigencies of the "boss" in his manipulation of patronage. Let us see now what would be the natural results of such provisions. Take the very practical illustration of the Seventeenth Ward. "Jim" Busey is the boss of that ward. For his own political services rendered Mr. Rasin he receives from each successive Mayor the appointment of Superintendent of Streets for the Fourth District. Rasin controls the ward and its members of the City Council through Busey. Busey in his turn controls the ward through his control of the lamplighters, street-cleaners, police officers, and garbage-cart-drivers. Through them, in conjunction with saloon-keepers, he has formed a political machine of astonishing efficiency, the managers of which are appointed by Busey and paid by him with the patronage he controls. At a primary election Busey, through his control of the ward officeholders and the blackmail support he can levy on them and their friends and relations, can absolutely dictate the nomination. A man who will seek the "regular" support of the ward without making his bargain with Busey is "snowed under" by the man who has the backing of the "machine." At a general election the same services are usually controlling. Busey's working funds are drawn from his assessments upon the wages of those he employs. Through his control of the minor offices he can control a share of the general city patronage and can draw also upon their salaries. The whole forms a little patronage kingdom which has so far resisted all attempts at its overthrowing. But let it be supposed that a law is passed which forbids the dictation of

such appointments. Suppose they are no longer dependent upon political services, but are subject to some general rules which shut out personal influence. Have you not struck at the root of the matter? Is the average officeholder over-anxious to perform laborious and often disagreeable, if not criminal political work, and will he not submit to a law forbidding him to engage actively in politics, with good grace? Is he over-anxious to pay a large share of his salary to the political treasurers, and will he not be glad enough to plead a statute making his contribution a misdemeanor? Will he view with regret a law which removes the suspended axe from above his head and gives him the freedom and independence of a man? And what then becomes of Mr. Busey? He has no longer a great band of workers to marshal at the polls. He has no longer a handsome sum levied for assessments. He is nothing more nor less than a man with a very ugly criminal record. He can no longer be of any use to Mr. Rasin; therefore Mr. Rasin will perforce allow him to retire to private life. And what becomes of Mr. Rasin? The same principles at work will deprive him not only of Busey, but "Bud" Kittingham, "Fritz" Buchheimer, and all the rest of them must go the same way.

SOME OF THE DUTIES AND DANGERS OF THE SESSION.

THE Legislature of 1888 will hardly have reason to complain of a lack of public interest in its proceedings. Few sessions, for many years past, have been fraught with so much opportunity for good and evil; and the pledges to which men of all parties so definitely committed themselves, during the late political canvass, have rendered the most radical legislative action, upon measures of the gravest importance, altogether unavoidable. In regard to such of these measures as involve reform in registration and elections, it is safe to say that the great majority of the people of the State are in a mood which will not brook disappointment or endure bad faith. Necessarily, therefore, the proceedings will be watched with jealous scrutiny, and the vote and conduct of every legislator will be so fully in the light, that no man can venture to rely upon the ignorance of his particular constituents or of the people at large, as an escape from his proper responsibility. One of the largest sources of legislative demoralization, heretofore, in Maryland, has been the failure of the general community to concern itself sufficiently with what was going on at Annapolis, to say nothing of our own City Hall. Oftentimes it has been a failure amounting practically to blind refusal. It was only by a sudden awakening and excitement of our people that the infamous schemes about to be consummated at the session of 1886 were brought to their fate. A few more days of public silence and the customary indifference, would have placed them on the statute book, entailing all the corruption and disorganization which must have followed in their train. It is a great relief, therefore, to know that the people now need no awakening, and that the watchfulness which has already begun will not cease until the session is over. Nor will it bring to us only the general advantage which always flows from the strict superintendence by the people of their servants. The crisis is one in which unknown men, who have reputation to make, and prominent men, who have reputation to lose, will be alike compelled to make their position absolutely unequivocal, upon one question at least, and that is the restoration of the suffrage to its purity.

And not only must their position be unequivocal, but the measures towards which it is assumed must be unequivocal also. The public patience will not put up with equivocal or half-way legislation any more than it will tolerate halting or half-way legislators. The changes needful are so thorough, so vital, and yet so obvious, and the means and method of securing them are so simple and so easy, that there can be no excuse for going astray, and no concealment of bad faith. Every man, therefore, will have to determine for himself whether he will do a plain duty or not do it. He will have to make up his mind also as to whether—apart from duty—there is any political future, in Maryland, for any public man who now utters an uncertain sound on the questions of an honest registration and a free, clean ballot-box.

But altogether aside from the compulsory process of public opinion—which we only refer to, because it is too important an element of the situation to be undervalued, much less forgotten—we believe that the general disposition of the Legislature is to do what is right in the matter of election reform. That such is the disposition of the members of both houses who, to any important extent, enjoy the public confidence, we have no doubt whatever. Indeed we have seen no reason, as yet, to modify the conclusions on the whole subject which were presented in our December issue. Our conviction, however, remains unaltered, as from the beginning, that the Democratic party managers, by whom the existing system was devised, and who have manipulated its details so successfully and so long, would never consent to modify it, one iota, if they could help it. Under existing circumstances, fortunately, they are unable to help it, and their opposition will be compelled to take the shape of such obstruction and such qualifications and omissions as will render the changes which they cannot prevent, as few and as circumnavigable as they can make them. Unless they find the pressure of public sentiment too strong for them to trifle with, they may be relied on, we think, to reduce the work of the session to a *minimum* of suffrage reform. They will probably feel their way gradually and make their movements subterranean, but the movements, we are sure, will be made all the same, unless the veto of the people is prompt and peremptory.

We do not say these things for the mere purpose of criminalizing the Bosses afresh, but simply to keep the people upon guard against them and their influences, which last we are taught by experience that it is unwise, to the last degree, ever to underrate or ignore. To them "politics" is a prosperous and easy livelihood, and their control of the nominations and elections in Baltimore is their chief stock in trade. When they lose that control they must, sooner or later, go out of business. That they will not consent to do that, so long as they can prevent it, and that if they cannot prevent it altogether they will prevent it as far and as long as they can, is a proposition which Boss nature, at least, if not human nature, must place beyond doubt or discussion. Already it is rumored that if the reform measures pass, their operation will be postponed until after the elections of next autumn. In the multiplicity of bills which are already introduced or spoken of, it will not be difficult to find pretext for excisions and additions, qualifications, conditions and amendments, by which debate may be protracted, time wasted, and vital provisions at last brought within the fatal and insidious grasp of that destruction which goes by the name of compromise. The Baltimore *Sun* of January 2nd, along with a highly moral editorial "On keeping faith," has a political article, in which it refers to the various election

laws likely to be presented, and states, upon the authority of a person whom it calls "a party leader," that "they will probably get their hair well trimmed." The same "leader" is reported to have added that "what is wanted is a satisfactory law, without cumbersome and costly machinery." The *Sun* having long ago committed itself to the "cumbrousness" of the Reform League Law, it is, we think, a very obvious deduction, that "keeping faith" will not in the slightest degree interfere, in the opinion of the *Sun* and the statesman whom it quotes, with subjecting that obnoxious measure to the severest form of tonsure. Indeed, the *Sun*, in its issue of January 4th, in face of the fact that every bill which has been prepared, by any responsible person, is more or less an adoption of the provisions and words of the Reform League Law, does not hesitate to sneer at that law, by stating, with a disregard for truth which is so obvious as to be merely spiteful, that "it has been ostentatiously paraded as the perfection of human reason in that direction." Such comments, thus repeated, can have but a single object, and that is to lessen the hold which the Reform League Law now has upon the public confidence and preference. We undertake to say, in the most positive manner, that no Reformer has ever pretended that the League Law is the "perfection of human reason," or of anything else. It has never been set up, at any time, or in any way, as an invention or discovery of the League, or an original scheme of its devising. No one has ever claimed for it any more than that it is a careful, intelligent, honest and wise compilation from the laws of other States, which have been shown by experience to answer the high purpose for which they were designed, and will answer the same in Maryland, with simple local adaptations. It was prepared, with much deliberation, by able and experienced lawyers, after a thorough study of all the advanced legislation elsewhere, and with the exclusive purpose of making as good a law as could be made, in the interest of the entire community of all parties and opinions. No adverse criticism has ever ventured to suggest that there is a single clause or provision in it, by which a personal or partisan interest or end could possibly be served or is intended or attempted to be served. There is no one who wishes or seeks to gain popularity or reputation from his skill or labor in drawing it. The names of the gentlemen to whom the State is indebted for its preparation are known to but few, except members of the League, one of whose committees they constitute. Provided the bill be adopted, in its substantial features, so that it will work the reforms which it was framed to secure, neither its authors, nor the Reform League, nor the members of the Independent organization, care a farthing by what name it may be called. It will be quite as satisfactory under the title of the "Pearce bill," the "Whyte bill," the "Poe bill," or any other which may be given to it in baptism, as by that which would indicate its real paternity. All that the Reform League or the Reform party desires is reform, no matter from whom it comes. Annual registration in Baltimore; minority representation throughout and everywhere; watchers of both parties at the taking as well as the counting of the votes; the abolition of "the window" and all its opportunities and iniquities—these are the leading features without which no law will redeem the pledges of all parties to the people, and which, with the other provisions of the League law that make them effectual, will be as welcome from Greeks as from Trojans.

It appears from a letter of the new Attorney General, which we print elsewhere, that the "uniformity" crotchet

meets no favor in his eyes. This being the deliberate opinion of his constitutional legal adviser, we presume that Governor Jackson will no longer find any difficulty in that quarter. It is understood that Mr. Pearce is of one mind with Mr. Whyte upon the subject, and that annual registration in Baltimore, with quadrennial registration in the counties, will be regarded by both of them as involving no breach whatever of the constitutional clause which has been made for so long so absurd a bugbear. We are not advised as to Mr. Poe's present views on the point, but, as it cannot be disputed that he is a good lawyer, however bad he may be as a politician, we hardly suppose that he will continue to nurse the orphan bantling of Mr. Gwinn. If we may rely upon the *Sun's* report, he has practically abandoned, though he does not entirely disown it. Indeed, we should infer that everybody had given up the crotchet in question, inasmuch as the *Sun*, in its editorial of January 4th, announces, with authority, that there is not and never was anything in it. As the *Sun* generally "leads" public opinion by finding it out and following it, we think it may be fairly assumed that the public mind is finally made up on the subject. We must respectfully decline, however, to accept, as absolute verity, the *Sun's* impression that its own views have always been as they are now, or that it discovered the case in 20 Maryland Reports, p. 449, which it says that it cited "more than a year ago." The Reform League Committee cited that case to the Legislature, two years ago, in presenting its first bill, and if the *Sun*, at any time during the recent canvass, found out, or, at all events, admitted that the citation was "conclusive," as to the meaning of the word "uniform,"—"the Democratic platform to the contrary"—we confess that it escaped the attention of one of our neighbor's most constant readers.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal having reached the climax of impecuniosity, under the able administration of "the young Demosthenes," who has been removed from that field of usefulness to the Comptrollership of the State, it will undoubtedly occupy an important place and be a "big thing" in the business of the session. No subject can be more suggestive of jobs, large and small, past, present and to come; and unless the people of the State look well to it, they may find themselves engulfed in the most enormous of them all—the most gigantic bonanza to the lobby and some of our well known statesmen that has been known in our generation. The canal owes about three millions of overdue principal and long deferred interest to the bondholders under the mortgage of 1844, by whose sunken money it was constructed. Under the mortgage authorized by the Act of 1878, Chap. 58, when it was already in a dying condition, it has issued bonds for five hundred thousand dollars more, all of which has been spent. This mortgage is subject to foreclosure, upon failure to pay three successive coupons, on two of which default has already been made. Under the mortgage of 1844, nothing is pledged but the net income, and it is not forfeited so long as the failure to pay the interest results only from an honest deficiency in the receipts. The mortgage of 1878 covers the entire body of the canal, which can be sold on its foreclosure. Moreover, the bonds issued under it have priority over all the antecedent indebtedness. To say, therefore, that the canal cannot pay the coupons of the later mortgage, means that it owes three millions and a half, of which it can pay neither interest nor principal. It means, further, that \$500,000 have been spent on it, within a little more than ten years last past,

over and above the entire net receipts from tolls. This is what the *Sun* calls "its *growing* financial embarrassments"! If ever there was a concern entirely unembarrassed, in one sense (like the *vacuus viator* of our youth), or whose "embarrassments," in another sense, had reached their full and mature growth, we should say that it was the canal, under these circumstances. It is this concern, however—thus brought to grief, and presumably—after so many years of trial—incapable of being brought to anything else, that now poses, or is made to pose, as our "great waterway," and wants to be "saved," by the Legislature, from sale for its debts! As this last cannot be done without money, and the State, in some shape or other, will have to provide the funds, it is practically an appeal to the taxpayers to put the "waterway" on its legs again, at their expense, in spite of its demonstrated and absurd incapacity, through at least one generation, to get along on any of the many legs upon which it has so often been put heretofore. Under Article 12, Sec. 3 of the Constitution, no sale or contract for the sale of the State's interest in the canal can be valid unless ratified by the ensuing General Assembly. Under Article 3, Sec. 24, the Legislature is forbidden to give or loan the credit of the State to any corporation, association, or individual, or to involve the State in the construction of works of internal improvement, or grant any aid to them involving the credit of the State, or make any appropriation therefor. It is in this state of the fundamental law, and hedged around with these rigorous and explicit prohibitions, that the General Assembly is still called upon to make the canal the beneficiary of the State. How there can be any fair, honest, proper, practicable or even expedient course to pursue, except to sell it, in the way which the Constitution sanctions, and pay its debts, as far as the proceeds will go, we are unable to comprehend.

Among those who know the history of the canal, and are not affected by personal, local or political interests, we have never heard it questioned, that a private company, without any sort of relation to the State and managed exclusively on business principles, is the only sort of organization that could ever make it pay in the long run. Some years ago, we believe during the administration of Governor McLane (who himself favored a sale), the trustees under the mortgage of 1844, representing its bondholders, formally proposed to take a lease of the canal from the State, for twenty years, at an annual rent of \$10,000. This proposition, though backed by the large pecuniary responsibility of capitalists like Mr. Corcoran and General George S. Brown, who are members of the board, was hardly received with courtesy, and down and down—getting deeper and deeper into bankruptcy every day—the canal has been going ever since. If there were no politics in the case—no personal or political interests or purposes to serve, among those who are now moving in the matter—we have not the slightest doubt that every intelligent public man in the State would favor a public sale of the canal, with the least possible delay, on the best obtainable terms. Almost any riddance of it would be a happy riddance, and the purification of our politics by taking it out of the hands of the Board of Public Works and its managing statesmen, would be a genuine and widespread sweetening of the air.

Of course it is said that the western counties need the canal and that its competition with the B. & O. R. R. keeps down the price of coal. Even if the people of the rest of the State ought to be taxed for the benefit of the western counties, or the price of coal ought to be kept down (as we

have shown) at the cost of fifty thousand dollars per annum and the whole receipts of the canal—which we venture humbly to deny—it would still be a sufficient answer, that in private business hands, the canal would serve, far better than now, the real material interests of the counties through which it passes, and be a far more efficient competitor than now, with its rival in coal transportation. At the session of 1886 there was a bill introduced for the leasing of the canal, by the company, with the authority of the Board of Public Works, to be used for the construction of a railway. The law was so drawn as to have the false appearance of providing the railway for the purpose of hauling the canal boats, though it really contained no provision making such traction imperative. After a good many amendments in the Senate, it was recommitted and died in committee, as soon as a clause was proposed, requiring the lease to be sold at public auction, after a month's notice, to the highest bidder, with guarantees securing the rights and interests of the State, the bondholders, and the company. It was well known at the time that the lease was to be made to Mr. Henry G. Davis' railway, of which Mr. Gorman was, until lately, a director, and neither publicity nor notice answered the purpose of Mr. Gorman and his associates who were "engineering" the bill.

It may be regarded, we think, as absolutely certain that some similar job, under ingenious pretexts or devices, will be put up at this session, if the Legislature can possibly be influenced or imposed on, by the party managers, and public scrutiny and reprobation can be foiled or averted. The message of Governor Lloyd, with its deliberate proposition to circumvent the Constitution by means of the sinking fund, in "aid" of the canal, is a very clear indication of what the Ring proposes and will compass, if it can. We are glad to record the prompt and vigorous opposition of the *Sun* to these projects and to the Governor's suggestions, in its editorial of January 5. We regard the matter ourselves as of such very large importance that we have preferred to dwell upon it, by way of warning, to the exclusion of other subjects of probable legislation which we had proposed to notice. With its present influential relation to the politics and politicians of the State, the *Sun* can stifle the whole project, if it will, and by so doing it has the opportunity of rendering a signal service to the whole community which THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER will be among the first to recognize and applaud.

THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS REVENUE REFORM.

WE have little to say about and nothing to say against the President's message. The merits of his views or any one else's as to the comparative advantages of free trade and protection do not concern us, and there is but small room for criticism, and, to our mind, certainly no ground for censure in the manner he has chosen to discharge a clear constitutional duty. Whatever may be his economical opinions, no intelligent and candid man can or does deny that the present tariff constitutes a national scandal and peril, calling urgently for remedy; and whether one agrees or disagrees with the President's recommendations, only a blind partisan or a mere political intriguer can blame him for a straightforward description of notorious evils and suggestion of some measures of practical relief. Indeed, we have seen no more striking illustration of the utter degradation of politics produced by the spoils system than the reception of this message by those we must call our statesmen, although, as applied to them, the term sounds like irony. Most Republican politicians and editors, including some of whom we ex-

pected better things, have gloated over the message as a political death-warrant to its author, and probably to his party—not because its sentiments were discreditable or demonstrably erroneous, but because they were likely to offend certain wealthy interests, and, even more, because the English papers applauded them. These critics offer no alternative policy, and, if restored to power, would apparently leave our present needless burdens unchanged, although they do not, indeed cannot, question their gravity. They seem willing to rely, in the great contest of next year, upon the purely selfish sympathy of a few men to whom abuses in our fiscal system are a source of gain, and upon an empty prejudice which would be merely childish were it not also both mischievous and wicked. On the other hand, most Democrats seem half inclined to apologize for the President's language, or, at least, to minimize its practical import, and seek apparently at once to gain credit for his manly and outspoken advice and to deny this all effect on legislation. In short, both parties look upon the message as might be reasonably expected of huge corporations maintained to earn and distribute to their members dividends of public offices. They have, properly speaking, no need of policies, unless as mere decoys; the business of government for them is simply to provide employment at public expense for as many as possible of the dominant party, and all politics beyond place hunting are to them "visionary" or "sentimental." Inasmuch as the tariff is undoubtedly, next to the abuse of patronage, the greatest fountain of corruption, and consequently of profit, now furnished by American politics, the workers of both parties would be loth indeed to do away with its burdensome absurdities, although ready enough to affect a zeal for reform by perpetually tinkering at them, especially since to do so is an effective method of levying blackmail on those able and willing to pay for the continuance of public grievances which make them rich.

To handle the questions involved in its revision, men are needed in Congress of a type widely different from the promoted lobbyists and professional office-brokers who now constitute the bulk of both Houses, and those who doubt the inherent incapacity of a Legislature so made up to act worthily on such matters, fail to appreciate the profound deterioration of our public men since the tariff last formed a party issue. We said in December, 1886: "Twenty-five years ago we had in public life such men as Reverdy Johnson and Henry Winter Davis: undoubtedly they had faults and incurred criticism, but who will compare them with Arthur P. Gorman and Isidor Rayner?" And as it has been with us, so, in kind if not in degree, has been the experience of our sister States; everywhere paltry men have been found to do the paltry work of our politics, and they are stricken with a moral paralysis when confronted by problems of a higher order. We may hope for a statesmanlike revision of the tariff when Congress deals as statesmen worthy of the name would deal with the silver coinage or the currency, or shows courage and independence enough to exact a sacrifice on grounds of public utility from those sufficiently rich and sufficiently unscrupulous to pay well for continued impunity. But until it is made up of other men than the nominees of Rasin or Talbott and their like, to ask such legislation at its hands is to seek figs from thistles. The first step towards revenue reform, as towards reform of any kind, is the abolition in truth and deed, not merely in words and show, of the wretched system which poisons and palsies our national life. When Mr. Cleveland nominated Morris A. Thomas, for example, he did more to hinder a correction of the tariff than any number of messages can outweigh.

A proof, at once pitiable and ludicrous, of the light in which American professional politicians look upon questions of government, is furnished by their attitude towards the surplus. It may be safely said that never before in a country ruled by sane men was it seriously proposed to aim deliberately at so modifying the revenue laws that the Government's income should be less while the people's burdens remained the same; yet this is exactly what nearly all Republican and many Democratic politicians now aim to do, and some of the President's suggestions are censured

because they might result in bringing more money to the Government while taking less from the taxpayers. At first sight it would seem to be inconsistent, not only with a rudimentary knowledge of political economy, but with the plainest common sense, to doubt that an ample revenue from light taxes is the ideal of rational finance, and that although for a government to raise annually a hundred millions of dollars more than it needs is a piece of criminal folly, it is so only because so much is thus drawn without necessity, and therefore without warrant, from its subjects. To try to get rid of the surplus without reducing taxation is hardly more sensible than would be a proposal to empty that much bullion each year into the sea. Yet it is perfectly natural that our politicians should try to do this. Their aim is not to reform the tariff, but to stave off doing so; to evade the urgent demand that they remedy abuses which they fear to touch. Now the great obstacle to further procrastination and trifling is the surplus: it is the glaring, undeniable evidence that they are shamefully neglecting their duty; the spectre which, like Banquo's ghost, pursues them in all their attempts to blind the people to their breach of trust. The "brutal fact" that the government is taking a hundred millions of dollars out of the people's earnings each year with which it knows not what to do cannot be explained away, and even the most long-suffering constituency must end by asking its representative, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" To this he will hardly reply, "I mean to do nothing about it; if I do not prevent a reduction of duty on no matter what, the wealthy manufacturer of my district who owns me will not next year pay my election expenses, and I cannot prevent this reduction unless I help each of my colleagues to render an analogous service to his own master: so the tariff must remain substantially unchanged." Yet this answer would be perfectly truthful if made by probably a majority of the House, and those who dare not make it, and cannot even plausibly make another, are now cudgelling their brains to devise some scheme by which the surplus may vanish, though the nation is mulcted as before.

To discuss the merits of schemes like these would be unworthy of us, if not of their authors: we speak of them but to point the obvious moral that the financial legislation of the United States must be a laughing stock to the civilized world until we entrust it to men of other principles and other training. While we are satisfied with our present rulers we must not complain of the inevitable incidents of their reign. A hundred millions a year is no doubt a small price to pay for the services of Gorman and his compeers in the Senate, and of such economists as Rayner, Compton, and Gibson in the House.

BALTIMORE ELECTION EXPENSES.

IN our last issue we promised to deal in some of its local aspects with the subject so ably treated by Mr. Bishop in the article on "Money in City Elections," of which we printed a part then, and print the remainder in this number. From the best information to be obtained from trustworthy sources, based upon actual expenditures at the election of 1887, we feel warranted in fixing the average necessary legitimate expenses of every seriously contested election in the city of Baltimore at about \$15,000, itemized as follows:

720 challengers, 4 at each of 180 election precincts, paid \$5 per diem apiece.....	\$3,600
3600 ticket-holders, 20 at each of 180 election pre- cincts, paid on an average \$2.50 apiece.....	9,000
Printing 2,000,000 tickets, say.....	1,400
Distributing tickets throughout city.....	1,800
	\$15,800

These figures of course do not represent the entire amount actually paid out, nor anything like it, but only the expenditure which is absolutely necessary to give each side anything like a fair show. Each party must have two challengers for every one of the 180 voting places, as it would be impossible for one man to stand at the window for twelve

consecutive hours. Challengers are generally paid \$5 per day. It is usual for each party to have from 8 to 15 ticket-holders at each precinct, and therefore we may fairly take twenty ticket-holders, *i. e.* ten for each side, as the average number employed, making 3600 for the city. They are paid on an average \$2.50 each, often \$3, but never less than \$2. The number of tickets printed at the last State election was for the Regular Republican and Independent Committees about 1,000,000; for the Regular Democratic Committee with "For a Convention" on them, about 600,000; by Regular Democrats, opposed to a Constitutional Convention, 300,000; and of split tickets, in the interest of individual candidates, at least 100,000 more. The amount actually paid out for printing all these was, as near as can be estimated, at least \$1500. The amount paid by the Republicans and Independents for distributing tickets on the night before the State election, including envelopes, directing, and folding, was \$813, and as their campaign was, on account of scarcity of funds, conducted on a much more economical basis than that of the Regulars, there is little doubt but that the latter spent still more for the purpose. We must remember besides that there is always an election for Mayor and City Council held in Baltimore from five to ten days before the general State election, which involves the same expenditure for challengers, ticket-holders, and tickets, so that the above estimate of \$15,000 must be doubled in order to give us the necessary legitimate expenses of each campaign. Here, then, we have for the elections of every alternate year an expenditure of \$30,000, of which sum \$25,000 is divided among 4320 challengers and ticket-holders, all of whom are voters. The expenses of the years when only members of the First Branch are elected to the City Council, and only members of Congress voted for in November, are not so great, but then it must be remembered that each alternate Congressional election is also a Presidential election, which again makes it necessary to employ the full contingent of ticket-holders. Striking a general average, we may therefore fairly estimate that \$25,000 must be raised every year in Baltimore City to defray the legitimate expenses of elections which are not provided for by law.

How is this sum raised? By assessments on officeholders and on candidates, and by voluntary private subscriptions primarily, but obviously the greater part of it comes out of the public treasury in the end. The money drawn by assessments from officeholders of course proportionately diminishes their salaries, to the detriment of the public, which either pays them that much more than their services are actually worth, or else suffers through inferior service the usual disadvantage experienced by those whose employees get less than the current rate of wages. The assessment of candidates is (if possible) still more objectionable, for it amounts in effect to restricting the right to hold office to those who are able and willing to pay a good round price for it. We may safely set it down as a general rule that whatever a man pays out for election expenses (whether for himself or for another) he expects to get back full value for, in some form or other, out of the office if successful—and he very rarely can get back this value from its legitimate salary or fees. Of those candidates who are able and willing to pay their assessments in cash out of their own pockets, comparatively few are content to get back nothing but "the bubble reputation" in return, while the great majority look forward to using their official influence for the promotion of some scheme that has money in it. Those candidates whose assessments have to be paid for them by friends almost without exception expect either to make enough money during their official term to pay back the amount with liberal interest, or else to cancel the obligation by services which are worth money to their backers. In other words, the system of heavy assessments upon candidates means simply putting up the offices for sale, with all the corruption which this implies, whether the subject of purchase be the office itself or only the man who is elected to fill it.

The raising of large sums of money for political purposes by private subscriptions must be done by getting small donations from the many or large ones from the few. Men, from purely patriotic motives or from party feeling, will fre-

quently give small amounts without expecting any private recompense for so doing, but when they give large sums for political purposes they generally feel that they have put the party under an obligation and have claims upon it which it is bound to recognize when requested. It is so much easier to collect a few large subscriptions than a number of small ones, that as a matter of fact nearly the whole amount raised for political purposes by voluntary subscription comes from a very limited number of wealthy men, who are thus placed in a position to exercise a control over their respective parties proportionate to the extent to which the latter are dependent upon them for the money required to render them effective. That there are gentlemen in this community who feel enough patriotic interest in the public welfare to make them contribute liberally to political purposes and who will yet take no advantage of the position in which they place themselves by so doing, no one familiar with the politics of Baltimore City for the past six years can for one moment doubt; but we imagine that few can be found with sufficient credulity to believe that there are among us enough of such disinterested individuals to be safely depended upon for regular yearly contributions to the amount of \$25,000 or anything like it. If any such sum as that is to be annually raised by the voluntary contributions of a few rich men, we may fairly estimate that at least four-fifths of it will under ordinary circumstances be regarded by the donors as investments, as much expected to yield a substantial return in some form or other as would be any similar contributions which Mr. Jay Gould or the Whiskey Ring might make to a Presidential campaign.

But the sum thus required for the so called "legitimate expenses" of the election is not only a fruitful source of evil in itself, but it also opens wide the door to still more corrupting influences. As Mr. Bishop so forcibly puts the case about New York, "the city pays the expense of registering, receiving and recording the ballot, but makes no provision for its printing and distribution. To supply this necessary expense the assessments had to be made; to supply the means of distribution the workers had to be hired. As the city grew in size so did the expenses and the assessments, and so did the number of workers. From doing the political work on election day the machine passed naturally to doing all the political work, including nominations."

When a number of men, not over scrupulous, who get their living out of politics, are organized into a machine to raise large sums of money for legitimate expenses of which they render no account to any one, and to hire thousands of workers to perform ostensibly legitimate services, they are subjected to an almost irresistible temptation to use much of the money thus raised for expenses which are not legitimate, and to employ these workers for their own purposes more than for those of the public, and thus the very machinery that was originally designed to aid in giving expression to the will of the people becomes in the end a most efficient instrument for destroying it.

To remedy this evil and emancipate us from the tyranny of the machine, the aid of legislation is imperatively required, first to supply the means for doing that work and meeting those expenses which the machine was originally designed to undertake, and which now furnish the only legitimate excuse for its continued existence, and then to destroy the power of the machine by cutting off the sources of its revenue. An act such as was introduced last winter into the Michigan Legislature and passed one house, or like that described by Mr. Bishop as in course of preparation by Messrs. Ivins and Scott for introduction into the New York Assembly, based upon the English "Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883," and which would make provision for the printing of all tickets by the State, and for their distribution only at the polls and by public officials, could at once do away entirely with the necessity for all those items of so-called legitimate expenditure which we have above enumerated, with perhaps the single exception of the challengers. For the army of 3600 paid ticket-holders annually enlisted there would no longer be the shadow of an excuse. It would then be practicable to carry out the two principles which pervade the English act, viz., first "to strike hard and home at corrupt practices,"

and second, "to prohibit by positive legislation any expenditure in the conduct of an election which is not absolutely necessary." The necessary expenses could then be reduced to so small a sum as to make it comparatively easy to detect and punish the collection and disbursement of any considerable sum for political purposes in excess of what the law might allow. If all legitimate disbursements for each political party were required to be made through one person, and such person obliged to return after every election an itemized account under oath supported by vouchers, it would be difficult for either him or any other person to collect and disburse for election expenses any considerable amount beyond what was thus accounted for, without great risk of exposure. With the traffic in appointments to the minor ministerial offices abolished by the Civil Service laws, and the practice of collecting and disbursing large sums of money for political purposes thus curtailed, the chief sources of the power and influence of the machine would be practically destroyed, and both parties and politicians would be obliged to depend mainly for success upon their ability to carry out the wishes of the majority of the people.

THE BALTIMORE REFORM LEAGUE AND THE REGISTRATION CASES.

THE following is an extract from the report of the counsel of the Baltimore Reform League to the Committee on Elections, presented and read at the meeting of the League held December 22, 1887:

"The investigation made in 1886 convinced the League that the condition of the registration was so bad, that if something was not done to correct it, an even approximately fair election was impossible. The election committee wanted very much to make a thorough investigation of the state of the registration lists in every ward in the city, but repeated efforts to raise the necessary funds failed, and finally, about the first of July it was determined to begin operations on six wards, the expense of investigating which, it was believed, could be met. The committee, in making their selections of wards to be canvassed, were guided entirely by their conviction as to the relative condition of the registration lists in the various wards. They determined to examine the Second, Fourth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth, and Seventeenth. All of the six wards selected had been very imperfectly examined in 1886, and few cases had been sent in from these wards, and of those sent in, very few, comparatively speaking, were taken off. In five of those wards the number of white persons registered largely exceeded the number of white voters returned by the police, there being in those wards 16,229 white voters found by the police, and there being 17,414 white voters registered. The League made every effort to make the investigation into the registration lists of these wards absolutely complete and impartial. Every name on the registration books was put upon a slip, with the residence from which registered. These slips were routed, and inquiry made at the house and in the neighborhood from which the voter was registered. If the person was found at the registered address the slip was marked O. K. and nothing more was done with the case. If the voter was reported dead, that fact, with the name and address of the witness who stated it, were endorsed upon the slip. If the voter was not there, every effort was made to find out how long he had been gone and where he was now. These slips were all returned with the information and the name and address of the person giving it on them. Every case in which the voter was not reported O. K., dead, or out of the city, was compared with the city directories in order to find out, if possible, where he now was. In many instances search was carried back through the directories of the last six years in order to get some clue as to where information about his whereabouts might be profitably sought after. The places at which it seemed probable, either from the directory or the information gained at the registered address, the person might be found, were put upon a list and inquiry made at them. The League, in no case, contented itself with the mere report that the man had been gone from his registered address eighteen months and the persons living there did not know where he was—this would be enough

under the rulings of the Court—but the League always looked up such cases in the directories. Where the name had disappeared from them altogether, the case was sent in upon the statement made at the place of registration. The League found that of the 23,780 persons registered in these six wards, about 12,500 were living at their registered addresses; 2000 more were located by the League's inquiries at another address in the same precinct and nothing was done with the cases. There were about 1900 who were not now at their registered address nor in the same precinct, whose names were not sent in. Some of these we found had removed so short a time as not yet to be disqualified. The large majority had gone, we could not find where nor for how long. Most of this latter class of cases ought to have been stricken off, but as we could not obtain sufficient evidence, none of these 1900 cases were sent to the registrars. There remained 7380 cases in the six wards which the League had reason to believe were disqualified and whose disqualification it believed it had the means of proving. Of this 7380, 750 were reported dead, and the remaining 6630 were disqualified, either because they had removed from their registered address at least eighteen months before the election of 1887 and could not be located, because they were located permanently out of the State, were in another county or legislative district for six months preceding the election of 1887, were in another ward or precinct of the same legislative district for any length of time, or had never lived at their registered address at all. Of these 7380, 6921 were sent to the registrars early in the September sitting, with the names and addresses of the witnesses. The remaining 459 were sent in during the latter part of the September sitting and at the October sitting. Of the names sent in to the registrars, the registrars struck off or transferred and advertised the names of 467 dead persons and 2520 disqualified persons. The League filed petitions or had petitions filed in court immediately upon the close of the September sitting for the thirteenth ward, and immediately after the October sitting for the other five wards. The number of petitions filed was 4393; of these there are unacted on at the present time 1078. The petitions were granted in 1498 cases and were dismissed in 1817 cases. Of the dismissals, at least 1250 were made because the registrar had already done what the petition asked to have done.

"There have been thus finally disposed of by the courts or by the registrars themselves 6302 cases, of which 5735 were struck off or transferred. In but 567 cases was the prayer of the League refused. Of the 567 cases which were not stricken off, it is a low estimate to say that 157 were dismissed by the judges because when the cases were called the witnesses were not present. The League strenuously objected to this being done, on the ground that although we asked the sheriff to make personal summons, not one witness in fifty was summoned personally, and consequently the League was powerless to compel the attendance of witnesses by attachment. Several of the judges at first, however, dismissed some cases because the witnesses were not present, but the practice was afterwards abandoned by most or all of them. Of the whole 6300 cases heard it is perfectly safe to say that not more than 400 failed after hearing. A percentage of failure so small as this of course needs no explanation. Witnesses, when summoned in court and compelled to testify, found that they did not know as much about the people registered from their houses as they told our agent they knew, or it turned out that there had been some sort of misunderstanding as to the man asked after, or something of that sort. So far as concerns the accomplishment of the actual work the League set out to do it has every reason to be satisfied. It compelled corrections to the extent of nearly one thousand names to a ward in each of the six wards investigated. The members of the League will naturally wish to know why it was that petitions were filed in the 1250 cases in which the correction asked for had been made, or at all events in which some correction (for it was not always the one asked for) had been made by the registrars. The registration law expressly provides that it shall be the duty of the registrars to publish, in handbill form, the names of all persons whom they have

stricken from any registry of voters. As is known, doubtless, to all of you, there is a separate registry for each precinct. There is precisely the same legal command to publish the names of persons stricken off the registry of one precinct and put upon the registry of another precinct of the same ward, as there is to publish the name of a man stricken off because he is dead or has moved to another ward. The law contemplates that the printed list for each precinct shall show all the names which have been added to the registration lists of that precinct, and all the names which have been for any cause or at anybody's instance, whether that of the voter himself or some one else, stricken. When the Thirteenth Ward petitions were filed I supposed that the law in this respect had been complied with. In the trial of the cases under these petitions it turned out that the registrar had not advertised the transfers from precinct to precinct; he had thus violated the law. The number of cases of such transfers, however, was not very considerable, not amounting probably to more than thirty or forty cases out of five hundred or more tried. The petitions for the other wards were prepared before the October sitting in blank. The copies we retained of the lists sent in by us to the registrars were compared at that time with the printed lists of the September sitting, and all the names which the lists showed had been struck off were checked. The moment we received the printed lists of the October sitting we had all the names stricken off at that sitting checked, and we then filled in our petitions with all the names we had sent in to the registrars which it did not appear from the printed lists had been stricken off. It was announced by Mr. Hoblitzell that he intended to ask the courts to strike off the names of five thousand colored voters. If any such number of petitions were filed it would be impossible to have our cases heard unless we had the right to a prior hearing. To secure this right it was necessary to file our petitions first. I accordingly determined not to wait until the tedious task of comparing the printed lists with the reports of our agents at the registration offices could be completed, but to file the petitions at once. I knew that some of the registrars did not claim to have advertised the precinct transfers, and that under such circumstances there would inevitably be a certain number of cases dismissed, because the transfer asked for had already been made; but the experience we had had with the Thirteenth Ward led me to believe that from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dismissals in all the six wards would be all that we would have to fear from this cause. I thought it better to risk this than to wait any longer. The petitions were accordingly filed as stated. When the trial of the cases began, large numbers of petitions were dismissed because the transfer had been already made. Instead of amounting to a maximum of two hundred for the five wards, the dismissals for this cause actually were about two hundred and fifty per ward. I did not know then, and I do not know now, any legitimate reason why there should have been twenty or thirty precinct transfers in the thirteenth ward and two hundred and fifty or thereabouts in each of the other five wards. The larger part, indeed three-fourths of all the indebtedness of the League was brought upon us by these registration costs. The expense of trying these cases was very much increased by the delay occasioned by the consumption of the first day in argument of the question raised by the counsel for the registrars, namely, that the petitions for any particular precinct could be filed only by a resident of that precinct. The witnesses had been summoned for each day of the week, enough, as nearly as we could estimate it, to keep the courts occupied during the entire day. The consequence was that we did not get to Monday's witnesses until Tuesday—we had both Monday's and Tuesday's instalments of witnesses in court; on Wednesday we had Tuesday's and Wednesday's, and so on. The costs both to the city and the League were increased by fifty cents for each case ordered off or dismissed by this useless waste of the first day of the sitting, a waste which could have been avoided if the counsel for the registrars had simply notified the Supreme Bench some days before the day for the hearing of the cases. The Bench would doubtless have readily accorded a day during the time in which the registrars were occupied in making up

their books, to have heard the argument of this question. The witness fees and court costs are as yet unpaid, there being no available funds in the treasury to defray them."

POLITICS NOT WARFARE.

THE inaccuracy of metaphorical language has often been pointed out, and its unfitness to convey definite ideas. It follows from this that the habit of using it to excess tends to hinder close thinking. The man, for instance, who carries about with him a large vocabulary of slang, which is a rough kind of metaphorical language, will cast his thought into the moulds which he has at hand rather than take the trouble to shape it exactly.

The current metaphorical language which is used in regard to the business of politics is especially misleading. Nearly all of it is based on a supposed similitude between an army and a political party. To begin with, a contest between two political parties is called a "campaign." Imaginative chairmen of campaign committees, in their calls for public meetings, invoke some mythical sentry on a watch-tower to "sound the tocsin" and to "hang the banners on the outer walls." Voters who are inclined to think that the nominees of their party are unfit are adjured to "stand to their colors" or to "close up their ranks," and are warned of the pains and penalties that attach to "traitors" or "deserters." Finally, and as a sort of necessary result of this obscurity of thought on the subject, the successful party enunciates the doctrine, "to the victors belong the spoils," as the principle on which appointments to office shall be made.

Now, when we come to think of it, the duties of the voter are almost as dissimilar as possible to those of a soldier. The fundamental principle of the organization of an army is unquestioning obedience to the commands of the immediate superior. Intelligence has its office with a soldier in enabling him to appreciate fully and quickly his orders and to carry them out with the utmost efficiency. But the faculty of judgment, of decision as to the comparative expediency of several differing lines of action, remains in entire abeyance in military affairs, as far as subordinates are concerned. On the contrary, this is the very faculty which the conscientious voter is especially called upon to exercise. It is often the case in politics, sad to say, that the voter has a choice only between evils. But whether the question be which one of two candidates will do the least harm, or which will best carry out a given line of policy, it is for the voter, each time, to determine for himself. It is he that is to decide, and the officials who are to be chosen are to execute his commands. If there is any analogy at all between the body politic and an army, it is the private soldiers to whom the candidates should be compared, and not the generals.

What are the "colors" of a political party? If the word has any application at all in political affairs it must apply to the principles of the party as enunciated in its public declarations set forth in its "platforms," or in the expositions of its representative men. Using the word in this signification, is it not true generally that the "bosses," if they give themselves any concern about the "colors" at all, are found as often fighting under the colors of the adversary as under the colors of their own party? In such case they are the "traitors" or "deserters," and fighting the bosses is in the strictest sense "standing to the colors."

ATTORNEY GENERAL WHYTE'S LETTER TO MR. JAMES W. DENNY.

"My Dear Friend: The Democratic State Convention, last July, in its resolution relating to fair elections, declared that 'it will earnestly endeavor, at the coming session of the General Assembly, to have placed upon the statute books an election law which will embrace not only all the beneficial provisions of the Tilden act, but will embody also all those additional safeguards to guarantee the purity of elections which experience has taught, should be incorporated into it.' As a candidate for office, presented by that Convention for the suffrages of the people, I pledged myself, 'whether

in office or out of it,' to do all that was in my power to redeem this positive obligation. In fulfillment of my promise I have, as a citizen, examined carefully the laws of New York, Illinois, and other States, as well as the draft of the law prepared under the auspices of the Reform League, and I send to you—as a member of the House of Delegates and my close personal friend, who has long known my political views and private life—a bill which, I believe, if enacted into law, will fulfill the pledge of the Democratic party and satisfy any reasonable man who desires fair registration and honest elections. As the Reform League bill is confessedly, in the main, a compilation of the New York and Illinois laws, I have used its printed form for my own convenience. The features of the bill herewith inclosed recognize annual registration for Baltimore City and quadrennial registration for the counties. For this I find no prohibition in the Constitution. The word 'uniform' in regard to registration is to be construed in its popular sense, and it simply means 'consistent,' or 'on the same general plan,' and was not designed 'to ignore the varieties of situation and conditions of the people of the several counties' or divisions of the State. The bill provides for election commissioners for Baltimore City, and does not propose similar boards in the counties, but imposes on the county commissioners of the several counties the same duties as those required of the election commissioners of Baltimore City. This will meet more general concurrence in the counties than would be given to the Reform League bill in that regard, and will save the counties unnecessary expense. I do not adopt the suggestion of the Reform League to refer to the judges of the courts the matter of appointing judges and clerks of election when twenty citizens make complaint in regard thereto.

"This would not be the exercise of a judicial function, and I do not think the judges could be required, under the Constitution, to perform it.

"Trust for the honest execution of the law must be lodged somewhere, and it is as likely to be secured in county or election commissioners as in any other officials. The boards of registry are not new in this State, but that feature is found in the Act of 1865, chap. 174, except that the Republicans did not then give us what we now propose—minority representation.

"The combination of the functions of officers of registration and election in the same persons is novel here, but not elsewhere.

"Provision for glass ballot boxes, boards of canvassers, and more minute details for making election returns, are all to be found in this draft. I trust that you will, as soon as the House is organized, present this bill to be printed and to be referred to the Committee of Elections when appointed.

"Whenever and however I can be useful in sustaining or explaining the features of this bill, my time and energy are at the service of the Committee or of the General Assembly.

"Wishing you and your colleagues a 'Happy New Year' and an honorable and useful service to the people,

"I am, truly your friend,

"WM. PINKNEY WHYTE."

MONEY IN CITY ELECTIONS—ITS EFFECTS, AND THE REMEDIES.*

[Conclusion.]

THE ENGLISH ACT.

ON the questions of limiting expenditures, providing intelligible ballots, and fixing penalties for bribery and undue influence, the English laws are most admirable models for us to follow. I will only sketch their general outline.

For many years previous to 1883, bribery, undue influence, and personation in elections had been crimes under the English laws for which a man could be fined and imprisoned. There was passed in 1872 a ballot act, which required the name, address, and occupation of each candidate to be printed on the ballots, and provided elaborate safeguards against illegal voting. But in spite of these laws, election expenses

* From an address before The Commonwealth Club in New York, March 21, 1887, by Joseph B. Bishop.

continued to grow most alarmingly. Corrupt practices were constantly on the increase, and bribery was notoriously prevalent. In 1880 the total expenditures of the general elections amounted to \$15,000,000, and from all parts of the kingdom came demands for restraining laws. In January, 1881, Sir Henry James prepared an elaborate bill, which after two years and a half of delay became a law in July, 1883. This is the "Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act," which we are to consider. It is a most elaborate measure, covering all forms of bribery and undue influence so minutely as to defy analysis or summary. "It is pervaded by two principles," says Mr. Hobhouse in his essay upon it; "the first is to strike hard and home at corrupt practices; the second is to prohibit by positive legislation any expenditure in the conduct of an election which is not absolutely necessary." These two principles are applied with a minuteness which cannot be comprehended without reading the full law. Every conceivable form of bribery or undue influence, including treating, is defined and the penalty fixed. The maximum amount of expenditure which each candidate can make is named, proportionate to the size of his constituency. This sum must cover all expenses: printing, postage, room-rent, clerk hire—everything. All disbursements must be made by one person, either the candidate himself or his agent. If he employs an agent to disburse the money he cannot disburse a farthing himself, but must leave it all to the agent. An account with vouchers must be kept of all expenditures and returned under oath to the proper officers after election. Any person found guilty of an "illegal practice" is liable to a fine of one hundred pounds and five years' incapacity for voting, while a candidate guilty by himself or his agent loses his seat and is disqualified for sitting for the same constituency, in the former case for seven years, in the latter during the existing Parliament. Minor offenses of illegal payment, etc., are liable to a fine of one hundred pounds. Any candidate whose expenditures exceed the maximum limit loses his seat.

RESULTS OF THE ENGLISH ACT.

The most conclusive proof of the practical wisdom of the English law is furnished by the statistics of elections held since its enactment. In 1880, as I have said, the total expenditures were \$15,000,000. After that election ninety-five petitions against returns on the ground of corrupt practices were presented and a large part of them were sustained by the evidence. Thirty magistrates were reported guilty of corrupt practices, and there was an innumerable army of agents who were charged with various forms of bribing. Mr. James Bryce, writing at that time of the cost of election, said: "In ordinary elections in large constituencies the expenditures range from \$10,000 to \$35,000 for each candidate. In one case two candidates running together in the same interest spent, between them, \$65,000. This extravagance is demoralizing to constituencies and goes far to exclude men of moderate means from seats in Parliament." At the first election held under the law, that of 1885, the total expenditures dropped from \$15,000,000 to \$3,900,000. There were only two charges of corrupt practices. In 1886 the showing was even more remarkable. The maximum scale of expenditures allowed under the act for the English constituencies was, in our money, \$3,337,000. The actual sum expended was only a little more than half of this, about \$1,825,000, or \$1,512,000 less than the law allowed. In Wales the maximum allowed was \$218,375, and the expenditure only \$64,100, or less than half. About one-fourth of the elections in England and Wales were uncontested, and the expense in most of them was very small; but, had they all been contested, on the average cost of the other three-fourths, the maximum would still not have been reached by more than \$1,000,000. There was not in this election a single charge of corrupt or illegal practice. Thus the law had not only abolished bribery and corruption, but within two years it had shown that the maximum of expenditure could be reduced at least one-fourth.

The complete success of the English laws furnishes us with a remedy for our evils which has the great merit of not being experimental. It would undoubtedly be necessary to modify the forms of the English laws somewhat, to adapt them to our

system of government, but there need be no change in the principle. What the English laws are designed for, and what they accomplish, is pure and honest elections, and that is what we are after here. Under the English law any ten persons in a constituency may have a candidate's name put upon the voting list for municipal office by certifying that they wish to vote for him. Just see what that principle would do for us here. Suppose we had a law saying that when any fifty citizens (it would be necessary to make the number at least as large as that) certified to the election officers that they wished to vote for a certain man for Alderman, or Assemblyman, or Civil Justice, the election officers must print his name on the ballots and must distribute them at the polls. If the taking away of assessments from the machines would be a deadly blow to them, this provision would completely annihilate them, for the candidate of the fifty citizens would have an equal chance with the candidates of the machines. Now the machines are not only able to pick out their own candidates and use all the election machinery to elect them, but they can refuse to distribute the ballots of every other candidate. To run an anti-machine candidate now it is necessary to organize a new machine at enormous expense. In case of candidates for Mayor the number of certifying persons might be put at one thousand, and then their candidate would be in the field as completely as if he were indorsed by every machine in the city. To run an anti-machine candidate for Mayor now requires an outlay of from \$60,000 to \$100,000, with a chance of his being sold out then by the men who are hired to distribute his ballots.

THE LAW PROPOSED FOR NEW YORK.

These points and others have been embodied in a bill which Mr. W. M. Ivins and Mr. F. M. Scott have begun the preparation of, with a view to submission to the Legislature next year. It is too late to introduce it in the present body with any hope of its receiving consideration. Their bill makes provision for the appointment by the Bureau of Elections of two additional poll clerks for each election district, who shall have charge of the distribution of the ballots. It provides also for the printing of ballots at the city's expense, and for putting on them the occupation and address of every candidate in connection with his name. Any one can see at a glance how important such information would be, for under the present system not one man out of a hundred has the slightest knowledge of the larger part of the candidates for whom he is voting. The bill provides also that the certification of two hundred and fifty men shall be sufficient to secure the printing and distribution of ballots for an Alderman and other minor offices, and one thousand for Mayor or Comptroller, and requires a Bureau of Elections to publish the names of all such candidates in the *City Record* at least fifteen days before election. It also provides a system of checks and stamps to prevent frauds of all kinds in the balloting; limits the number of agents whom each candidate may employ, and specifies their compensation; places the maximum of personal expenses of a candidate for Mayor or Comptroller at \$1000, and that of candidates for minor offices at \$250; requires publication, after elections, of a full and complete sworn statement, with vouchers, of all moneys expended; fixes as penalty for false return of expenditures, disfranchisement from holding office or from voting in the city and State for ten years for a candidate and five years for an agent; and assigns various penalties for other violations.

The objection which will be made here first will be the same as was heard in England, namely, that the law is too complicated. Success in England is the best answer to this. We must start here with separate municipal or Spring elections, and a reform in our Bureau of Elections, which at present is in the hands of a machine boss, Johnny O'Brien. It ought to be removed entirely from politics.

In short, what we need as a remedy is the application of strict business principles to our election machinery. That is all there is in the English law. We shall have a harder fight getting it here than they had in England. There the candidates for Parliament paid their enormous election expenses out of their own pockets, and did not recoup themselves from the public treasury after getting into office.

THE PROPOSED CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM LAW.

A SPECIAL committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association to draft a law to be presented to the Legislature this winter, have reported the following law, which they submit for the examination and criticism of our readers :

A Bill entitled an Act to add a new Article to the Code of Public General Laws of Maryland, to stand as Article — of the same under the title "Civil Service."

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland,* That a new Article shall be incorporated in the Maryland Code of Public General Laws, to stand as Article , immediately after Article , under the title "Civil Service," and to read as follows, viz :

ARTICLE —.

CIVIL SERVICE.

1. The Governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, three persons, not more than two of whom shall be adherents of the same party, as Civil Service Commissioners, and said three Commissioners, and their successors in office for the time being, shall constitute the "Maryland Civil Service Commission," and are hereby incorporated by that name. Said Commissioners shall hold no other official place under the United States, the State of Maryland or any municipal corporation thereof. They shall serve without compensation, but each of them shall be paid his necessary personal expenses incurred in the discharge of his duty.

2. The Governor may remove any Commissioner, provided that he shall, at the time of so doing, state in writing to the Commissioner so removed his reasons for such removal, and provided that any vacancy shall be filled by the Governor as in case of other Executive appointments, conforming, however, to the conditions for the first selection of Commissioners.

3. The said Commissioners, before acting as such, shall severally take and subscribe before the Judge or Clerk of the Superior Court of Baltimore City the oath or affirmation prescribed by the sixth section of the first Article of the Constitution, and the further oath or affirmation that in the discharge of the duties and exercise of the powers imposed and conferred upon them by this Act they will wholly disregard and be free from all political or partisan bias or influence of any kind whatsoever, which oath or affirmation shall be recorded and preserved among the records of the said Court.

4. It shall be the duty of said Commission :

First : To aid the Governor in preparing suitable rules for carrying out the purposes of this Article for the selection of persons to fill State, County, and Municipal offices which are required to be filled by appointment, and for the selection of persons who are to be employed as laborers or otherwise in the public service, State, County, or Municipal ; and when said rules shall have been promulgated by the Governor, it shall be the duty of all officers, State, County and Municipal, to aid in all proper ways in carrying said rules, and any modifications thereof, into effect.

Second : And among other things, said rules shall provide and declare as follows, viz :

A. For public, open, competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the public service, to be classified hereunder. Such examinations shall be practical in their character and, so far as may be, shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of that service into which they seek to be appointed. No question in any examination shall relate to political or religious opinions or affiliations, and no appointment or selection to an office or for employment within the scope of said rules shall be in any manner affected or influenced by such opinions or affiliations.

B. For the classification of the offices and employments to be filled, State, County, and Municipal, upon the basis of the tests to be applied in determining the qualifications of applicants.

C. That all the offices, places, and employments so arranged or to be arranged in classes shall be filled by selec-

tions from among those graded highest as the results of such competitive examinations or tests.

D. That there shall be a period of probation before any absolute appointment or employment aforesaid.

E. That promotions from the lower grades to the higher shall be on the basis of merit and competition.

F. That there shall be non-competitive examinations when competition may not be found practicable.

G. For the selection, by order of application or otherwise, as may seem most desirable to carry out the purposes of this Article, of persons for public employment as laborers or in other positions which it may not be practicable to fill by competitive examination ; but the tests of applicants for employment as laborers shall relate only to their fitness for the kind of labor in which they are to be employed, their industry and sobriety, and the necessities of themselves and their families.

H. That no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligation to contribute to any political fund, or to render any political service, and that no person shall be removed or otherwise prejudiced for refusing to do so.

I. That no person in said service has any right to use his official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body.

K. For notice to be given in writing by the appointing power to said Commission of the persons selected for appointment or employment from among those who have been examined, of the place of residence of such persons, of the rejection of any such persons after probation, of transfers, resignations, and removals, and of the date thereof, and that a record of the same shall be kept by said Commission. And that any necessary exceptions from said eight fundamental provisions of the rules shall be set forth in connection with such rules, and the reasons therefor be stated in the annual reports of the Commission.

Third : Said rules may be made from time to time and may be given a general or a limited application, and new classifications may be made and new classes added from time to time, or changes made in existing classifications. The rules shall not apply to elective or judicial offices, or to officers whose appointment is subject to confirmation by the State Senate or a City Council, or to heads of any principal departments in State or City, but shall apply to teachers of public schools throughout the State, and to the members of the Police and Fire Departments in Baltimore City, other than Police and Fire Commissioners, Marshals, Assistant Marshals, and Chief Engineers, and shall also apply to the Deputies and employees of the Clerks of Court, Register of Wills, and Sheriff of Baltimore City, and to all subordinate employees of the several departments of the Municipal Government of Baltimore, including persons employed as laborers ; and said rules may be extended from time to time in the discretion of the Governor to any County or City and to any or all persons in State, County, or Municipal service, save those hereinbefore specially excepted therefrom.

Fourth : Said Commission shall, subject to the rules that may be made by the Governor, make regulation for and have control of such examinations, and, through its members or the examiners, it shall supervise and preserve the records of the same, and said Commission shall keep minutes of its own proceedings. All recommendations of applicants for office received by said Commissioners, or either of them, or by any officer having authority to make appointments to office or to employ laborers, or others coming within the scope of the rules established as aforesaid, shall be kept and preserved, and all such records and recommendations shall, subject to such reasonable regulations as may be approved by the Governor, be open to public inspection.

Fifth : Said Commission may make investigations concerning the facts, and may report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of said rules and regulations, and concerning the action of any examiner or board of examiners hereinafter provided for, and its own subordinates, and those in the public service, State, County, or Municipal, in respect to the execution of this Article and of the rules hereunder ; and in the course of such investigations each Commissioner shall have power to administer oaths and summon and examine witnesses as to matters relevant to such investi-

gations, and in case of refusal or neglect of a witness, if summoned, to appear or to answer, such proceedings may be had as in case of a witness neglecting or refusing to appear, or refusing to answer, before an Examiner of the Circuit Court of the county or of the city where the investigation may be in progress, and the Commission shall also have the same power as such examiners to require and enforce by application to Court the production of books and papers pertinent to the enquiries authorized under this Article.

Sixth: Said Commission shall make an annual report to the Governor for transmission to the Legislature, showing its own action, the rules and regulations and the exceptions thereto in force, the practical effects thereof, and any suggestions it may approve for the more effectual accomplishment of the purposes of this Article.

5. The said Commissioners shall select, and at pleasure remove, some competent person to act as Secretary and Examiner to the said Commissioners. The Examiner shall discharge such duties as may be prescribed by the said Commissioners, and receive a salary of twenty-five hundred dollars per annum, payable monthly, and shall be allowed his necessary travelling expenses. It shall be part of his duty, under direction of the Commissioners, to act, so far as practicable, with such examining boards as may be appointed under said rules and this Article, and to secure accuracy, uniformity, and justice in all their proceedings, which shall be at all times open to him as well as to the Commissioners.

6. The Commission may, in any City or County where examinations are to take place, designate a suitable number of persons in the official service of the State or of such City or County, after consulting the head of the department in which any of such persons may serve, or in its discretion may select persons not in the official service, to be members of the boards of examiners, and may at any time substitute any other person in place of any one so designated. It shall be the duty of the officers of the State, or of any political division thereof in which examinations are directed by said rules or by said Commissioners to be held, to allow the reasonable use of the public buildings, and light and heat the same for holding such examinations, and in all proper ways to facilitate them.

7. Said Commissioners are authorized to rent, with the approval of the Governor, suitable rooms, to be furnished, heated and lighted, for carrying on the work of said Commission, and may supply themselves with the necessary stationery and other articles (including an official seal), and have the necessary printing done for their official use.

8. The rules above mentioned shall be promulgated by the first day of July, 1888, and thereafter no person shall be appointed, admitted or promoted to any office or employment in the State, County, or Municipal service to which said rules apply, except in conformity with such rules and the provisions of this Article; but whenever it shall be necessary to make any appointment or promotion to an office or employment coming under the terms of this Article or the rules herein provided for, and the appointing officer shall have the right to require the person so to be appointed or promoted to give bond, and none of those who are eligible under this Article or such rules are able or willing to give a sufficient bond, the said officer may apply by petition to one of the Judges of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, or of the Circuit Court, if in a County, alleging the foregoing facts and praying to be allowed to fill the said vacancy otherwise, which petition shall be answered by the said Civil Service Commissioners upon such notice as the said Judge shall prescribe, and, if on hearing the said cause upon the petition and answer and such proof as may be adduced by either party, the said Judge shall be satisfied that it is reasonable and proper for the said petitioner to exact a bond in the form and amount demanded by him, and that no one of the persons otherwise eligible as aforesaid is at once able and willing to furnish such a bond with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the said Judge, then, and in such case only, the said Judge may by his order permit the said vacancy to be filled without regard to the provisions of this Article and the rules hereunder; otherwise he shall dismiss the said petition with costs against the petitioner.

9. No person habitually using intoxicating drinks to excess shall be appointed to or retained in any office, appointment or employment to which the provisions of this Article are applicable; nor shall any vender of intoxicating liquor be so appointed or retained.

10. No person shall be appointed to or employed in any office or employment to which the provisions of this Article and the rules hereunder are applicable within one year after his conviction of any crime or misdemeanor, and if any person holding such an appointment or in any such employment shall be so convicted, he shall immediately thereby forfeit such appointment or employment.

11. No recommendation of any person who shall apply for office or place under the provisions of this Article which may be given by any Senator, member of the House of Delegates, or City Councilman, shall be received or considered by any person concerned in making any appointment or employing any person under this Article and the rules hereunder.

12. No United States Senator, member of Congress, State Senator, Delegate, or City Councilman, nor any officer or employee of either house of the General Assembly, or of any City Council, nor any County Officer, nor executive or judicial officer of the State, nor clerk or employee of any department or branch of the government of the State, nor executive officer, clerk or employee of any department of any County or Municipal Government, shall personally, directly or indirectly, solicit or be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any assessment, subscription or contribution for any political purpose whatever; but this shall not be construed to forbid such persons to be members of political organizations, or members of any committees thereof, which are not concerned in the collection or disbursement of money for political purposes.

13. No person shall directly or indirectly solicit or be in any manner concerned in soliciting any assessment, subscription, contribution, promise or pledge, for any political purpose whatever, from any officer, or from any person receiving, or entitled to receive, a salary or compensation from the State, or from any county, city, town, village, or political division within the State, or fees for the discharge of any public duty, nor from any member of any public Police Department, or Fire or other Department within this State or any of the political divisions thereof, nor from any person officially connected with the system of public instruction in this State or in any of the political divisions thereof.

14. No officer, clerk or other person in the service of the State or any City or County thereof shall, directly or indirectly, give or hand over to any other officer, clerk or person in said service, or to any United States Senator or member of Congress, State Senator, member of the House of Delegates, City Councilman, or County Commissioner, any money, or other valuable thing, on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.

15. No person in the service of the State, or any City or County thereof, shall use his official authority or influence either to coerce the political action of any person or body or to interfere with any election, and no officer or employee of the State, or any County or City thereof, shall discharge, promote or degrade, or in any manner change the official rank or compensation of any other such officer or employee, or promise or threaten to do so, on account of his political or religious opinions or affiliations, or for voting or refusing to vote for any person as a candidate for any political office or for nomination to any political office, or as delegate to any political convention; but nothing in this Article shall forbid the removal or dismissal of any such officer or employee for any cause other than those above enumerated, which, in the opinion of the person authorized by law to remove or dismiss such officer or employee, may interfere with the efficient discharge of his duties, *provided* that such cause for removal or dismissal shall in every case be first communicated in writing to the officer or employee so removed or dismissed by the person so removing or dismissing him.

16. Any person who on presentment or indictment shall be found guilty of having violated any one of the foregoing 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th sections, shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding one year.

17. Whoever while holding any public office, or in nomination for, or while seeking a nomination or appointment for any public office, shall corruptly use or promise to use, whether directly or indirectly, any official authority or influence (whether then possessed or merely anticipated), in the way of conferring upon any person, or in order to secure or aid any person in securing any office or public employment, or any nomination, confirmation, promotion, or increase of salary, upon the consideration or condition that the vote or political influence or action of the last named person, or any other, shall be given or used in behalf of any candidate, officer or party, or upon any other corrupt condition or consideration, shall be deemed guilty of bribery or an attempt at bribery. And whoever, being a public officer, or having or claiming to have any authority or influence for or affecting the nomination, public employment, confirmation, promotion, removal, or increase or decrease of salary of any public officer, shall corruptly use, or promise or threaten to use, any such authority or influence, directly or indirectly, in order to coerce or persuade the vote or political action of any officer or public employee, or upon any other corrupt consideration, shall also be guilty of bribery or of an attempt at bribery, and every person found guilty of such bribery, or an attempt to commit the same as aforesaid, shall, upon conviction thereof, be liable to be imprisoned not more than two years. The phrase "public officer" shall be held to include all public officials in this State, whether paid directly or indirectly from the public treasury of the State or from that of any political division thereof, or by fees or otherwise; and the phrase "public employee" shall be held to include every person not being an officer who is paid from any said treasury.

18. Any person who shall wilfully and corruptly, by himself or in co-operation with one or more persons, defeat, deceive or obstruct any person in respect of his or her right of examination according to any rules or regulations hereunder, or who shall wilfully, corruptly, and falsely mark, grade, estimate, or report upon the examination or proper standing of any person examined thereunder, or aid in so doing, or who shall wilfully and corruptly make any false representations concerning the same, or concerning the person examined, or who shall wilfully and corruptly furnish to any person any special or secret information for the purpose of either improving or injuring the prospects or chances of any person so examined or to be examined, being appointed, employed, or promoted, shall for each offense, upon conviction thereof, be punished by imprisonment not more than one year.

19. Whoever shall, after a rule has been duly established and published according to the provisions of this Article, make an appointment to office or select a person for employment contrary to the provisions of such rule, or wilfully refuse or neglect otherwise to comply with or to conform to the provisions of this Article, or shall violate any of such pro-

visions or the rules hereunder, shall be liable to a penalty of not more than one thousand dollars for each offense, one half of such penalty to go to the informer.

20. No public officer obliged by law to account with any auditing or fiscal officer, State, County, or Municipal, shall be allowed in such accounting for the services of any deputy or other employee appointed or employed in violation of the provisions of this Article and the rules hereunder, and any such public officer who shall, knowingly or otherwise, seek to obtain any such allowance, and any such auditing or fiscal officer who shall, knowingly or otherwise, admit or concede the same, shall, upon conviction thereof by a Court of competent jurisdiction, be imprisoned not less than five days nor more than six months, and may be further fined, not exceeding five hundred dollars, in the discretion of the said Court.

21. Any person who shall attempt to impede, hinder or delay the said Commissioners, their Chief Examiner, or any Examining Board appointed hereunder, in the discharge of their duties, shall, upon conviction thereof by a Court of competent jurisdiction, be imprisoned not less than five days nor more than two years, and may be further fined, not exceeding one thousand dollars, in the discretion of the Court.

22. It shall be the duty of the State's Attorneys of the several Counties of this State and of the City of Baltimore to associate with themselves such counsel as may be designated by the said Civil Service Commissioners in all criminal prosecutions for offenses against this Article, and in any other prosecutions in which the said Civil Service Commissioners shall request, in writing, that he may be so associated; and for such services the said counsel shall be entitled to receive such compensation as may be allowed by said Commissioners, with the approval of the Governor.

23. The right of any person to hold or enjoy any office or employment covered by the terms of this Article or the rules promulgated thereunder may be enquired into by *Quo Warranto*, to be sued out in the name of the State on the relation of the Commission, or may be tried in any other legal method. The Commission may sue and employ counsel to carry out the purposes of this Article and the rules hereunder, and such counsel shall be compensated as provided in the preceding section.

24. The salary of said Examiner, and all other necessary expenses of carrying out the provisions of this Article and the rules hereunder, shall be stated monthly in detail to the Comptroller, accompanied by proper vouchers, and upon being satisfied of the correctness of the same, he shall thereupon draw his warrant for the same, payable to said Commission, and the same shall be paid by the Treasurer out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, but the whole expense of said Commission, exclusive of the salary of the Examiner, in any one year shall not exceed three thousand dollars.

Section 2. *And be it enacted*, That this Act shall take effect from the date of its passage.

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JAMES CAREY, JR.,
FRANCIS K. CAREY.

THE UNDERSIGNED will continue the practice of law at the offices of CAREY & CAREY, rooms Nos. 4, 5 and 5½ WILSON BUILDING (second floor), N. E. corner of Charles and Saratoga streets, and will conduct all the professional business of the firm.

FRANCIS K. CAREY.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that the limited partnership heretofore entered into by THOMAS K. CAREY and A. MORRIS CAREY, the General Partners, and JAMES CAREY, the Special Partner, under the firm name of THOMAS K. CAREY AND COMPANY, on the second day of July in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-six, the certificate whereof is recorded in the Office of the Clerk of the Superior Court of Baltimore City in Liber J. B. No. 2, Folio 333, &c., of the records of partnership, is hereby dissolved by mutual consent.

Baltimore, December 31, 1887.

THOMAS K. CAREY,
A. MORRIS CAREY,
General Partners.
JAMES CAREY,
Special Partner.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that the undersigned, THOMAS K. CAREY, JAMES CAREY, Junior, A. MORRIS CAREY, and JAMES CAREY, have entered into a limited partnership for the purpose of conducting in the city of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, a Wholesale Commission and Manufacturing business in Mill and Machinists' Supplies, Machinery, and Rubber Goods for mechanical purposes, under the firm name of THOMAS K. CAREY AND BROTHERS. JAMES CAREY, who resides in Baltimore county, in said State, is the Special Partner, and THOMAS K. CAREY and JAMES CAREY, Junior, who reside in said city of Baltimore, and A. MORRIS CAREY, who resides in said Baltimore county, are the General Partners. The said JAMES CAREY has contributed in cash to the common stock of said partnership the sum of twenty thousand dollars. The said partnership is to begin on the third day of January in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, and is to terminate on the thirty-first day of December in the year eighteen hundred and ninety.

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The Civil-Service Reformer.

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THE MONTH.

HON. EUGENE HALE has sent us a copy of his speech delivered in the United States Senate last month, which he has labelled "Civil Service Reform a delusion and a sham under President Cleveland's administration." The text of his speech was a resolution offered by himself, calling attention to the eleventh and fourteenth sections of the Pendleton act which forbid the collection of political assessments from officeholders, and to the President's circular to officeholders. Unfortunately for our opinion of the senator, our copy of the *Congressional Record* announces also that at the conclusion of Mr. Hale's speech Senator Butler of South Carolina sent to the clerk's desk to be read the following circular (the italics are ours):

[The circular is addressed "Mr. W. A. Richardson, P. O., Providence, R. I." and accompanied by an envelope addressed "Sidney F. Austin, Esq., Treasurer Republican Cong. Committee, German-American National Bank, Washington, D. C.," and is as follows:]

EUGENE HALE,
Chairman.
GEO. C. GORHAM,
Secretary.

HEADQUARTERS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
[1878.]

1319 F Street, northwest, Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 27th, 1878.

SIR: This committee, charged with laboring for the success of the Republican cause in the coming campaign for the election of members of Congress, call with confidence upon you, as a Republican, for such a contribution in money as you may feel willing to make, hoping that it may not be less than \$10. The committee deem it proper, in thus appealing to Republicans generally, to inform those who happen to be in Federal employ that there will be no objection in any official quarter to such a voluntary contribution.

The importance of the pending struggle cannot easily be exaggerated. That the Senate is to be Democratic after the 4th of March, 1879, is very nearly a certainty. In view of this, the election of a Democratic House of Representatives would precipitate upon the country dangerous agitations, which would inevitably add to present distresses. Foremost among their schemes the opposition already announce their intention to attempt the revolutionary expulsion of the President from his office.

If, by the presentation of three candidates for the Presidency in 1880, the people should fail to choose, the House must elect—each State delegation casting one vote.

From what is now known, and with the growing dissensions in the camp of the enemy, the committee have good reason to enter upon their work with courage.

Please make prompt and favorable response to this letter, and remit at once, by draft or postal money-order, to "Sidney F. Austin, Esq., Treasurer, etc., German-American National Bank, Washington, D. C."

By order of the committee:

GEO. C. GORHAM, Secretary.

No better proof could be furnished of the weakness of any partisan attack upon President Cleveland's administration for its disloyalty to the cause of civil service reform, nor can the friends of that cause fail to be reminded afresh from this incident that the abstract question of the progress of the cause is one matter and the respective relations of the two parties to that progress is quite another.

SENATOR HALE would have better extricated himself from the embarrassing position in which the reading of the circular placed him if he had manfully repudiated his action of 1878, and admitted (supposing his speech to have been delivered in good faith) that he had since been convinced of the impropriety of political assessments upon officeholders. Here is his plainly disingenuous reply:

I only wish to say as to that letter that I agreed to it with great readiness, and I am ready to indorse it at any time; but it was almost

ten years ago; and it was a letter which directly and explicitly excluded any idea of extorting contributions. Everything that came into that campaign fund ten years ago, before the agitation on the subject of civil service reform, came in voluntarily. The contributions were not great; and they were only expended for the legitimate purpose of the campaign, and nobody then was pretending to be representing a great Civil Service Reform party, as some are now doing.

Has the honorable senator forgotten that the Republican platform of 1876 announced the allegiance of that party to civil service reform in the most glowing language, declaring among a multitude of other things that "the invariable rule of appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of all citizens to a share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country"? And when the senator quoted from President Cleveland's circular to officeholders and indignantly pointed out the violations of it, had he forgotten the relation of his own conduct to President Hayes' circular of the same character? We need only quote from the latter document the sweeping sentence which declared that "no assessment for political purposes on offices of subordinates should be allowed. This rule is applicable to every department of the civil service." It appears, therefore, that Mr. Hale was mistaken in his theory that "nobody then was pretending to be representing a great Civil Service Reform party, as some are now doing"!

BUT the friends of civil service reform will not be loyal to it if they allow themselves to be blinded, by the gross inconsistency of partisan malice thus exhibited, to the real facts of the present situation, which are none the less striking and important because they have been made use of by Republican politicians in bad faith. The following table, presented by Mr. Hale, which he says "was carefully made up to June 11th, 1887, more than six months ago, from figures furnished by the department, as showing how sweeping has been the change in all the departments of the Government up to that date," if it can be relied upon, is a significant exhibit:

Offices.	Places filled by Cleveland.	Whole number of places.
Presidential postmasters (estimated).....	2,000	2,359
Fourth-class postmasters (estimated).....	40,000	52,609
Foreign ministers.....	32	33
Secretaries of legation.....	16	21
Consuls.....	138	219
Collectors of customs.....	100	111
Surveyors of customs.....	33	33
Naval officers of customs.....	6	6
Appraisers, all grades.....	34	36
Superintendents of mints and assayers.....	11	13
Assistant treasurers at subtreasuries.....	9	9
Collectors of internal revenue.....	84	85
Inspectors of steam-vessels.....	8	11
District attorneys.....	65	70
Marshals.....	64	70
Territorial judges.....	22	30
Territorial governors.....	9	9
Pension agents.....	16	18
Surveyors-general.....	16	16
Local land officers.....	190	224
Indian inspectors and special agents.....	9	10
Indian agents.....	51	59
Special agents, General Land Office.....	79	83
	42,992	56,134

The *Civil-Service Record*, of Boston, gives in its last number an interesting table in regard to the Post-Office Department, from which we quote the following:

	For the year ending June 30 —					
	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.
Number of post-offices established.....	3,161	3,253	3,414	2,121	3,482	3,043
Number of post-offices discontinued.....	1,447	1,621	1,260	886	1,120	1,500
Total number remaining in operation....	46,931	47,863	50,017	51,252	53,614	55,257
Appointments on resignations and commissions expired.....	7,346	7,734	7,265	6,204	9,112	6,863
Appointments on removals and suspensions.....	1,021	705	513	810	9,566	2,584
Appointments on changes of names and sites.....	349	342	234	207	463	482
Appointments on deaths of postmasters..	461	468	477	412	587	589

A comparison for the several years before and during the present Administration of the changes incident to the expiration of commissions and resignations will partly explain the enormous number of changes in this department. It seems to us, however, impossible to really believe that it was to the public interest to dismiss so large a proportion of the important officers of the Government, including most of those for whose duties special training and experience is required.

THE matter of the State subscription to Dorsey's Digest of the Maryland Reports, which is now before the Maryland Legislature, is rapidly taking on the proportions of a scandal. There seems to be an entire agreement of opinion (if we except the certificate of the Court of Appeals) that the book is absolutely worthless. A bill was introduced into the Senate to pay Messrs. John Murphy & Co. \$2500 for two hundred and fifty copies of the Digest. The bill was reported back from the Finance Committee "without recommendation," and a lively debate ensued. Senator Brattan said: "The book is not worth the money. It is an imposition upon the State. The State would do the profession a service if it should burn up every copy." Senator Randall said: "The book is a perfect and arrant humbug. It was a very improper thing for the publishers to have submitted the manuscript to the Court of Appeals." Senator Johnson declared that the actual cost of getting up such a book was trifling compared to the sum asked for in the bill. Senator Goodwin said: "It is the most worthless law publication I have ever seen." Senator Stake said: "The publishers must have known that there was something wrong. The book is 'padded.'" The bill was referred back to the committee with instructions to investigate the actual cost of publication, which some members seemed to think was due the publishers on the ground that they had been misled by the certificate of the Court of Appeals, which declared that, "in our opinion, it is a work of high merit, will be of great value and service to the profession, and deserves the patronage of the State." But the climax has been reached in Senator Brattan's special report laid before the Senate last week, stating that the publishers had appeared before the committee and had stated that the cost of getting up the book, including the amount paid Mr. Dorsey, was \$2500, that they had printed the book in good faith, relying on the certificate of the Court of Appeals, and they would turn over to the State free of charge three hundred and fifty additional copies of the book, all they have, "in order that the same may be suppressed."

THIS simply means that the people of the State are to be mulcted to the extent of \$2500 to buy up copies of a worthless book, "in order that the same may be suppressed." We are bound to call attention to the fact that the publishers have done their work in a way which furnishes them but a poor foundation for a claim to the sympathy of the Legisla-

ture. The book contains exactly 358 pages, printed in large type with short leaded lines, and with the material "spread out" as thinly as possible in a single column. The four existing Digests are printed in small type on larger pages in solid double columns, and have the following number of pages respectively:

Norris, Brown & Brune, embracing 28 vols., 991 pp.....	Price, \$10 00
Stockett, Merrell & Miller, embracing 21 vols., 691 pp....	" 10 00
Cohen & Lee, embracing 12 vols., 569 pp.....	" 10 00
Burgwyn, embracing 26 vols., 780 pp.....	" 10 00
Dorsey, embracing 20 vols., 358 pp.....	" 10 00

Ringgold's Index Digest of all the Reports, which, with all its defects, has a vast amount of material in it, contains 1155 closely printed pages and is sold at \$10. The publishers of Dorsey's Digest, with a view apparently of obtaining a large price for the book, have printed it on the thickest paper which we have ever seen in a book—some one has described it as pasteboard—and have apparently exhausted every device known to the trade to "pad" it, as Senator Stake puts it. We have no means of knowing "the amount paid to Mr. Dorsey," but we can assure the members of the Legislature that \$1000 would more than cover the publisher's cost of printing and binding the seven hundred and fifty copies of his Digest, including paper, presswork, etc. It would teach book-writers and book-publishers a proper lesson, and, with profound respect, we trust the lesson would not be lost upon the Court of Appeals, if the Legislature refused to appropriate anything whatever for the protection of either author or publisher. Indeed, this is an unhappy illustration of the impropriety of such subsidies. There is no sufficient ground for the devotion of the public funds to any such private purposes, and it seems to us opposed to public policy and unwarranted by the Constitution.

THE NEW ELECTION LAW.

IT is gratifying to perceive, as the session of the Legislature advances, that the public interest in its proceedings grows warmer and deeper instead of abating. Nor is there any abatement, either, of the public determination, which has been so widespread from the beginning, to require from the men of both parties a strict and ample fulfilment, in good faith, of the pledges so emphatically made during the canvass of last autumn. Indeed, if anything, the public mind appears to be more resolute than ever in this requirement, and some little impatience has already begun to stimulate the exceptional vigilance with which the people are scrutinizing the progress of their representatives. It is not forgotten that the pledge of the Republican candidates, in case of their success, was to have the Reform League Election Law enacted, as an operative statute of the State, within thirty days after the meeting of the General Assembly, while a month of the session, with a large Democratic majority, has already rolled by without even a report upon any of the bills presented. Though we regard the feeling which this contrast is calculated to suggest as not altogether unnatural, it would be unreasonable thus early to encourage it too much, if the work is really going on, as we believe it is, in good faith and good earnest.

Gratified as we always are to welcome any support to the good cause from any quarter, we feel bound to acknowledge the persistent energy with which the *Sun* demands that the Democratic party and its leaders shall redeem their pledges to purify the suffrage. In fact, no better evidence could be

desired of the universality and strength of the popular sentiment in that direction, than the testimony which the *Sun* bears to it by demonstrations so decided, and by the frank unreserve with which it threatens and justifies, in advance, the retribution that will surely fall on any "leader or set of leaders," who "attempt to tamper . . . with the confidence of the public." And yet it is strange—and only shows how hard it is to get altogether right, after going altogether wrong—it is strange, we say, that our semi-centennial contemporary cannot even urge the adoption of the vital measures with which the Reform League and the Reform party have so manfully and persistently identified themselves, without saying or doing something spiteful, to make even its concurrence ungracious and disagreeable. "Thanks," it says, "to Mr. Pearce, to Attorney-General Whyte, to Mr. Poe, and to Mr. Martin R. Joyce, the Legislature is abundantly supplied with the necessary material to redeem the party pledge upon this question." Although every bill presented by the gentlemen named is candidly confessed to be only the Reform League Law, with a few alterations suggested, the *Sun* really supposes that it can throw that notorious fact into the shade, and take away from the Reformers all credit in the premises, by ignoring the Reform League Law itself, introduced by so prominent a member of the House as Mr. Robertson, and actually before the committee at the time, as the most important part of the "material" for the redemption of campaign pledges. There is a theory of a future state which assumes that when we get into a better world, every man starts where he left off in his finite career, and carries even into heaven its stains and shortcomings. The *Sun* appears to launch itself into virtue upon the same principle, and with the additional peculiarity, that it seeks to prevent its previous sinfulness from being forgotten. It insists upon showing, that although it is getting better, it was not always so good. Perhaps a more striking illustration might be found in the continuing existence of a rudimental and residuary tail which, even in the "human form divine," recalls our primæval ancestor. Happily, however, as we have more than once said, the Reform League wishes to take out no patent or copyright for its law, or to sue anybody for infringement. It has with great intelligence and labor prepared and presented to the people of the State a wise and honest scheme of registration and election, which will stand the test of any fair criticism, and in spite of any differences as to minute details which may suggest themselves to men of different minds, contains the substance of the reforms needed, and would confessedly secure them beyond peradventure. If the Legislature will only preserve its substance unimpaired, no true Reformer cares a farthing by what name the bill may go down to posterity. It may be called "The *Sun's* Election Law," if that title be preferred, and the Reform League will not repine, fifty years hence, if it should be made to occupy a conspicuous place in the *Sun's* mythological account of itself when its centenary comes around.

We have said, and with entire sincerity, that we believe the work of the election committee is going on earnestly and honestly—how wisely remains to be seen. It is reported by the Annapolis correspondents—but we do not know how truly—that the committee has determined to have the election commissioners in the counties appointed by the Governor, instead of by the county commissioners, as provided directly by the bills of Mr. Pearce, Mr. Joyce, and the Reform League, and substantially by that of the Attorney General,

This, of course, is a step in the direction of centralized as opposed to local administration, and is altogether at war with the habits and healthy traditions of the State in such matters. But, apart from this larger view, it is especially vicious, in expanding the patronage of the Governor and promoting, as far as it goes and can, the influence and control of the dominant party in elections. Moreover, we need hardly say that it diminishes enormously the chance of good appointments. When we remember the difficulty heretofore—partly pretended, it is true, but in great part actual—of getting even so small a number of good supervisors as three in the City of Baltimore, at the hands of the State Executive, and the enormous frauds and successive defeats of the popular will which have resulted directly from bad appointments, it is not easy to calculate the extent to which all the reform proposed may be paralyzed, by placing the key to the whole scheme of registration and election, throughout the State, in the grasp of one man at Annapolis. With the most honest purposes, it is impossible that the Governor can have personal knowledge—such as the county commissioners are absolutely certain to have—of the character and fitness of the men whose names may be submitted to him, and the result will inevitably be, as is conclusively shown by the *Baltimore American* in its forcible editorial of January 31st, that the appointments will be practically made by irresponsible but active cliques of trading politicians in the counties, instead of the responsible and respectable commissioners, whom the people themselves have selected to control their local government. We sincerely trust that the committee will not begin by striking so serious a blow at the practical working efficiency of the whole reform proposed. We do not agree with the Attorney General in his plan of dispensing with separate election commissioners in the counties, as is proposed by the other bills, and requiring the work to be done by the county commissioners themselves. It impairs, to that extent, the scheme of minority representation which is the very life blood of every fair election system—the county commissioners being almost universally men of the same party, whether Democrats or Republicans. Nevertheless, it at least throws the appointment of judges and clerks upon responsible men, known to their respective counties and having the confidence of their fellow citizens. In this respect, at all events, and in its maintenance of the cardinal democratic principle of local self-government throughout the counties, it is above exception, and it is to be hoped that its obvious and infinite superiority, in all regards, to the proposed scheme of universal executive appointments, may command the prompt and effective recognition of the General Assembly, if the other bills are to be modified in the particular named.

Careful inquiry has further demonstrated to us the absolute truth of the proposition which we have always maintained, that the managers of the Democratic Ring will never consent to the purification of the ballot box, if they can help it, and that even if forced to do so at all, by the existing pressure of pledges and a vigilant and resolute public opinion, they will as resolutely help it as far as they can. The most conclusive evidence of this is already to be found in the floating suggestions of difficulties, amendments, modifications, etc., etc., of which the atmosphere of the State House is full. As is well known, the change in our system of registration is really the basis of all the conservative remedial legislation proposed, and it is consequently against the changes suggested in that regard that the underground influences of the lobby and its patrons are at this moment

principally arrayed. The reason for this of course is obvious. Just as cheating in the count superseded the old-fashioned and clumsier method of knocking down voters at the polls—which Mr. Rasin and his friends were wont to practise on the Democracy in the blessed days of the Ashland Club,—so cheating by repeaters is sure to be the successor of defeated fraud in the count. The reform laws of 1860 put an end to the one system, and the recent enforcement of the criminal laws has in a measure suppressed the other. Enough, too, is sure to be done, in any event, at the present session, to render false returns, on any important scale, extremely difficult if not impossible hereafter. The only resource left to the Ring statesmen, in consequence, is the false personation of registered voters, and this can only be successfully practised, to any damaging extent, by having a large accumulation to choose from, of dead men and absentees, or voters who have changed or lost their residence. The present system furnishes an ample and admirable field for riot in that sort of achievement, and the experience of the Reform League demonstrates that no vigilance or scrutiny, which any private citizens can afford to keep up and pay for, can do more than prevent a small percentage of repeating, so long as the existing laws remain in operation. It is only by requiring fresh registration entirely *de novo*, at short intervals, that the evil can possibly be met. The longer the intervals, the greater is the accumulation of names representing people who are voters no longer. The larger the supply of unappropriated names and residences, the greater are the resources and the more easy is the equipment of the enterprising gentlemen, to whom a name is better than a vote, because they will vote as often as they can find a vacant name to swear by and a vacant or fictitious residence to hail from. Annual registration, shortly before every annual election, is the only preventive that can be devised, and thus it is that annual registration is the corner-stone of the Tilden Law and of every other system by which honest elections are effectively secured. So long as the Higginses, the Morris Thomases and the like remain at large, annual registration is their only antidote.

The case being as we have stated it, we have not been at all surprised to learn that a systematic though quiet effort has been made by the managers at Annapolis to extend the periods of registration, for both city and counties, which by common consent are prescribed in all the bills, and to persuade the Legislature that there is no need of registering so often. It is suggested that biennial registration in Baltimore is quite frequent enough, and that quadrennial registration in the counties is needlessly frequent. The expense of the thing is grossly exaggerated and industriously urged. Loose and absurdly inflated statements of the great cost of the new system proposed have been concocted, and covertly and irresponsibly circulated in the local columns and through the Annapolis correspondence of some of the newspapers. It is further argued, to the inexperienced and credulous among the legislators, that the Democratic voters will feel as if they were disfranchised by their party, every time that their existing registration ceases to entitle them to vote, and will be altogether too indignant to take the trouble to register themselves anew, while all the "niggers and Republicans" will be sure to rush to the registration offices as soon as they are opened! The expenses of elections to "the party," it is also said, are burdensome enough already, and if they have to be increased by the cost of getting men to register themselves so often, "the party can never stand it."

All of this our readers may rely upon as an unexaggerated statement of the base considerations which are being industriously pressed upon all the members of the Legislature whom the people who urge them can venture to approach. The matter of expense which, to the people of many of the counties, is naturally and fairly of serious consideration, is especially dwelt on and ridiculously overstated, so as to frighten timid or aspiring representatives, if possible, by the dread of loss of popularity, should they be guilty of the sin of increasing their local taxation, even to preserve the freedom of the ballot box.

Taken altogether, these devices of the enemies of election reform, discreditable and silly as they are, may do infinite mischief, unless they are thoroughly understood and vigorously counteracted. It is only comparatively few of the county members, who can distinctly realize the impossibility of keeping the ballot box pure, while registration is infrequent, or the extent to which it is defiled, so long as such infrequency opens the door. Nor, although the consequences may be comparatively less serious in the counties, can gentlemen who have not seen, with their own eyes, the methods and results of fraud in Baltimore, form any just appreciation of the spread of evils of the sort when left to grow at their own will. Already some of the counties—Baltimore and Anne Arundel, for instance, among others—have little to learn from the city; and every one who has taken the pains to follow events with closeness, is aware of the gradual creeping in of such abuses even in the smaller counties. If the field for fraud is narrowed in Baltimore, it will certainly seek new pastures where it can find them, in the rural districts; for, as surely as any political combination, whose existence depends on fraud, is driven from opportunity in one place, it will make opportunity in others, if it can. We earnestly hope, therefore, that every member of the General Assembly, who sincerely seeks to liberate and cleanse the franchise and redeem the pledges to which he is bound by every consideration of honor and duty, will set his face, like flint, against any and every proposition to alter, in the slightest particular, the provisions in regard to annual and quadrennial registration, upon which the bills before the House Committee are unanimous. To do so would be to throw reform to the winds. Without annual registration in Baltimore, the suppression of repeating and all reasonable extirpation of fraud will be absolutely impossible. Without quadrennial registration in the counties, they too will be in grievous peril. On these points, county men like Mr. Pearce and city men like the Attorney General and Mr. Joyce speak with the same voice. If expense were to be considered in such a question, it would be easy to show by figures—as gentlemen can readily find out for themselves—that the cost of the new system in the counties would exceed but little the expense of the present methods. But even if it were largely in excess and the counties should feel the burden too oppressive, even for the good it brings, why should not the State assume it? Why should not the whole people, if need be, share the cost of a common and universal benefit? Surely the gentlemen who talk of purchasing half a million of the bonds of a defunct corporation, like the Canal, for the sinking fund of the State, cannot plead her inability to pay what is needed for the emancipation of the suffrage. The suggestion that the members of the Democratic party are so far less interested in the assertion of their rights, as citizens, at the ballot box, that they will be left behind in the race of frequent registration by the "niggers and Republi-

cans," and "cost the party no end of money" to get them registered, is as audacious as it is absurd. If it were true, it would be too discreditable to furnish excuse or apology for bad or imperfect legislation. But it is not true. All decent Democrats would spurn it as an insult, if applied personally to themselves; and so far as the voters are concerned, on whom the Ring especially depends for its support—in Baltimore at least—experience has shown that they are far more apt to register, when they are not entitled, than to omit registering when they are. When a dozen or more can register from a single "dive" like that of Mr. "Bud" Kittingham (one of our distinguished ward executives), which can only hold two beds, the voters of that stripe, at least, can be fully relied on, to do themselves full if not sixfold justice on the registration books.

The provisions of the several bills before the committee have not been placed as fully before the public as they might have been, but still they are pretty generally understood. There are not many points of serious difference between them, and yet there are some which are very important. We have already said what occurs to us, in opposition to a change proposed by the Attorney General for one of the provisions of the Reform League Law, which Mr. Pearce and Mr. Joyce on the other hand concur in adopting. Mr. Whyte also denies to the minority representatives the veto upon appointments of judges which is conferred by the League Law, and which Mr. Pearce and the commissioners to supervise the Poe Code also concede. In this, Mr. Joyce and Mr. Poe agree with the Attorney General. Without the veto the minority commissioner is practically powerless, and minority representation, in that phase of it, amounts to nothing but the right of useless remonstrance and the privilege of being snubbed. So long as it goes no further than a simple veto, leaving the power of appointment still with the majority, it is not perceived that it could have any larger result than that of compelling the latter to be fair and reasonable. It is going far enough, anyhow, to give a majority of election officials to one party rather than the other, where the rights of both parties are equal, and the essence of a fair vote is absolute equality of control and opportunity.

There appears to be so consentaneous an opinion among the draftsmen of the other bills under consideration, in regard to dropping the provision of the League Law (Sec. 6) which allows an appeal to the courts from the decisions of the commissioners of election in the matter of appointing judges and clerks, that we assume its probable exclusion from the bill which will be finally reported. This course is recommended also in the report of the commissioners to supervise the Poe Code. We do not understand the commissioners as sanctioning the notion—which we regard as altogether unfounded—that the intervention of the courts in such cases would be extra-judicial and therefore without constitutional sanction. They place their conclusion on the broad ground that "the courts ought not to meddle with such matters." In view of the indecent efforts made, in the last campaign, to discredit the action of our judges, in election and registration cases, by maliciously and falsely ascribing it to partisanship, we can but feel that there is much force and wisdom in the suggestion of the commissioners. While, therefore, we shall regret the absence of any impartial arbitrament, to which the differences may be referred which it was proposed to submit to the courts, we are not disposed to quarrel with the conclusion at which gentlemen so able and experienced as the commissioners have arrived in that regard. From

what we hear, there seems to be little doubt that the Legislature will concur with them also, in refusing to adopt Mr. Poe's recommendation of the appointment of three commissioners for each legislative district of Baltimore City, instead of three only (the present number of the supervisors) for the city as a whole. Mr. Poe stands alone in his recommendation, and the fact that he is opposed in it, not only by the commissioners, but by the Attorney General and Mr. Pearce, who speaks under the appointment of the Democratic State Convention, would seem, in reason, to settle the matter.

There are various minor details in which the bills respectively differ (and especially Mr. Joyce's) from the provisions of the Reform League Law. But, after all, details which are merely subordinate and are suggested in good faith—without affecting the substance or the certainty of the reforms toward which all the bills are honestly directed—ought not to be, and we are sure will not be, permitted to interpose any obstacle to harmony in the result. Where there is such entire union of purpose there can be no reason for anything but ultimate accord. For our own part, although we differ from Mr. Pearce in several of his recommendations, we should be more than content to see the committee unite in reporting the bill of that gentleman as the ultimate outcome of its deliberations. The Democratic party would be entirely welcome, so far as we are concerned, to the credit of having presented, through a representative of its own choice, and a gentleman so entirely deserving of its own and everybody's confidence and respect, a satisfactory bill, of its own, for the redemption of its pledges. But, whether this course be adopted or not, we do sincerely trust that the members of the Legislature, who not only mean what they say but are anxious to consummate honestly what they mean, will indignantly resent and resist the insidious efforts which the interested and powerful enemies of fair elections are making and will continue to make, to cripple and hamper and minimize the vital reforms which they dare not openly oppose.

THE REFORMER IN NATIONAL POLITICS.

A ZEALOUS friend of our cause writes us from Philadelphia:

As I am a decided believer in not jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, and therefore a firm supporter for re-election of President Cleveland in spite of his wicked and wilful sins in Maryland, I had intended to discontinue my subscription to THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, for you appear to oppose this policy.

We are glad to say that, for a reason on which we need not dwell, this gentleman has decided to renew his subscription; but as others troubled with the like misgivings may not reach the same fortunate conclusion, it is well to point out that on the question of policy to which he alludes we have as yet expressed no opinion whatever. In our September number we published a letter from "An Independent Republican" which foreshadowed the course of the writer, and of those for whom he spoke, in the approaching Presidential contest, but we took pains to note that we were "responsible neither for its substance nor for its language." We have been thus careful, not because we ever hesitate to say openly anything we wish our words to imply—that might accord with the *Sun's* standard of manliness and honor, it would not with ours—but because we thought it was too soon in September, and think it still too soon, for us to say for what candidate, if any, we shall recommend our readers to cast their ballots next November. It is not too soon, however, to indicate certain principles which will guide us then as they have consistently guided us hitherto. In the first place, we shall tell the truth. Possibly we may become, like our Philadelphia subscriber, "a firm supporter for re-election of President Cleveland in spite of his wicked and wilful sins in Mary-

land"; but, however that may be, we shall never ignore these "sins" or pretend to believe that they were not "wilful." It may appear to some that such candor will render our support, if given, worse than worthless; we do not believe this, but if we did, it would not affect our conduct. It is the business of voters to choose the best among the candidates in nomination, and the business of newspapers to honestly discuss their relative merits. The possibility that the people may not choose wisely if they know the whole truth is no justification to the editors who suppress or distort it. To tell lies that a good man be elected is about as defensible as to pick pockets intending to distribute their contents in alms. And to omit mention of relevant but unwelcome facts, or accept explanations for them which we know are untrue, is to our mind simply to tell lies. In truth, however, the influence of a paper which is recognized as a thoroughgoing supporter, through thick and thin, of a man, or party, or policy, is thereby gravely impaired; whatever an "organ" says is taken by the public with many grains of allowance. No candid man will question that the opposition to Blaine of the independent Republican papers produced a great if not a decisive effect at the last election. Some of the same papers may discover next autumn, when they repeat their advocacy of Cleveland, that unvarying extenuation of his faults and over-praise of his merits have seriously diminished the value of their support.

The Eatonswill *Gazette* reminded the electors of that borough that "the eyes, not only of England, but of the whole civilized world were upon them." We do not pretend to say as much concerning the handful of Independent Republicans in Maryland, but if, in the words of our September correspondent, these should, in the event of Blaine's re-nomination, "be the first to publish their willingness, while of all citizens the greatest sufferers from Cleveland's weak and unworthy policy, to vote and work for an honest man rather than one blighted by the fatal taint of personal corruption," whatever one may think as to the wisdom of his advice or the fairness of his statement, we believe that this course would have a very appreciable weight in the campaign.

Secondly, we shall adhere to our principles. We believe, with the Special Committee of the National League, that:

So long as the whole civil service, in all its ramifications, is treated as the spoils of a successful party, the degradation of politics, the corruption of elections, the overthrow of the legitimate function of parties, and the utmost peril of popular institutions cannot be avoided. There are other great questions, undoubtedly, which demand public attention and other reforms which may be wisely sought. *But there must be reform of the practice of pulling up the entire civil service by the roots with every change of party administration, if republican government is to endure.*

These words of Mr. Curtis, Mr. Codman, Mr. Potts, and their colleagues express the view we have always taken as to the relative importance of several issues which now divide the attention of friends of good government in the United States. We do not question that the tariff needs a thorough revision; we recognize the dangerous instability of our paper currency and the criminal absurdities of the silver coinage law; we readily understand the anxiety caused to thoughtful and patriotic citizens by our pasteboard navy and defenseless ports; we are not indifferent to the consequences of having the Supreme Court three years behind its docket; we appreciate the annually recurring disgrace of our river and harbor bills, and the log-rolling and jobbery to which a greedy competition for public buildings and other local improvements gives rise. But for all these evils we see only one thoroughgoing remedy, the elevation in character of our public men; and to this end no other means than the permanent eradication of the political methods which have debased them. In this reform, all other reforms seem to us involved. A Congress chosen on the spoils system means the perpetuation of abuses and scandals in every field of legislative activity; the overthrow of that system is the first step to a revised tariff and a reformed currency, and a rational scheme of public improvements, and all the other good things which our rulers should give us. We shall never, therefore, be for anything first and for civil service reform afterwards. For us, "soundness on the main ques-

tion" is everything in a Presidential candidate. No merits can atone for its absence.

But it must not be supposed that this "soundness" consists in edifying language about civil service reform or a scrupulous observance in form of the Civil Service Law: we demand more than these. With the League Committee we hold that "no good citizen . . . can doubt that a great injury is done to the national character and to the public service by committing public trusts to men of scandalous life or of proved dishonesty." We ask of a candidate that he show, not by his words only, but by his acts and associations as well, that for him, as for us, the first requisite in a public servant is a fair character and a clean record. Whatever else he may or may not be, we must believe him to be an honest and reputable man, and that he will not knowingly appoint other than honest and reputable men to office. If the antecedents of one candidate justify this belief and those of the other do not, our choice between them is made in advance: between two equally likely or equally unlikely to give us a public service free from men such as Morris Thomas, Wallace Owings and Solomon Bacharach, we may well be neutral.

Finally, we shall be non-partisan. The Constitution of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland says: "Questions shall not be discussed in the debates or in the publications of the Association upon party grounds." We have scrupulously observed both the letter and the spirit of this prohibition, and shall thus continue to the end; yet some persons seem to have a strange difficulty in understanding our position. In an angry letter, sent to us last month from New York, the writer says:

The one idea of a reform of the civil service which your journal has appeared to me to entertain was that the officeholders in place at the accession of the present administration were ideal persons, and that any removal, unless after a conviction for crime or misdemeanor, was an offense against the principles of civil service reform, and greatly aggravated if the vacancy was filled by appointment of a Democrat . . . the partisan and carping criticism of some of its advocates has seemed to me to be the greatest stumbling-block to the advancement of the cause. Of just such criticism your journal seems to have been the principal vehicle and exponent. . . .

The fact that our critic ascribes to us sentiments precisely the reverse of those we have frequently expressed is of no special moment except to show that he was too much disgusted by our "carping and partisan criticism" to understand what in fact we said; but why was he so much disgusted? Have we ever said anything about "the present administration" which was untrue or unfair? We can safely challenge either him or any one else to point out a single misstatement of fact, or a single inference not justified by the facts stated. What he really censures, however, is that we have shown no "tender reticence" in dealing with the President's acts, or that we have not given weight to considerations of party advantage which may have caused regrettable incidents. Now this is perfectly true; we have criticised Mr. Cleveland just as we should have criticised his competitor if chosen, or his predecessor had we then appeared, and as we shall criticise his successor should he have one while we yet appear, as fairly as possible, but with no special indulgence and no regard to the effect of what we said upon his party or any other. We have unhesitatingly blamed him when we thought he deserved it, and given our reasons for blaming him, without either thinking or caring how this might affect his strength as a candidate for re-election. To call such criticism "partisan" might seem, at first sight, merely a misuse of language due to ill temper, but we think it is connected with the notion, entertained by some persons who ought, perhaps, to know better, that to be impartial means to deal out praise or blame to both parties in chunks of equal avoirdupois weight. Our critic, if at all an attentive reader, can hardly think that we have been mealy-mouthed in our comments upon Republican politicians or newspapers when we have had occasion to censure them, but as he has seen many more strictures on Democrats who are in office than on Republicans who are out, he concludes, apparently, that this must be because we love the latter the more; and perhaps this would have been true of him in our place. For us, however, the question, which party shall control the

national government during the next four years is important only as we may think that from one party rather than from the other we can reasonably expect an administration in accordance with the principles which we exist only to advocate, and on whose ultimate triumph we believe the success and even the continued existence of free institutions in our midst depend.

BALLOTS FURNISHED BY THE STATE.

WE have received within a few days past, through the courtesy of a member of the Commonwealth Club of New York, a copy of the bill to provide for the printing and distributing of the ballots in elections at public expense, which has been drafted by some of its members for submission to the New York Legislature at its present session. This bill is the result of the labors of a committee of gentlemen, all of them experts in election matters, who have been at work upon it since early in November last. It is most admirably devised for the object it has in view, and with a few modifications—which would be made necessary by the fact that we have only one ballot box at each polling place, while in New York there are as many boxes as there are distinct offices to be voted for—the whole bill might be incorporated into Mr. Poe's new code, along with the Reform League Election Law, to the great advantage of the public. With the permission of the committee by whom it has been prepared, we give the full text of the bill in another column. We will now briefly consider and discuss some of its principal provisions.

In the first place the bill provides that all ballots received at any election shall be printed by the State, and that no ballot shall be received unless it be obtained by the voter at the polling place where it is used, from the election officers, and at the time when he goes there to vote. It further provides (Sec. 26) that no person shall do any electioneering on election day within, or within fifty feet of, any polling place, or shall remove any ballot from the polling place before the closing of the polls, or shall apply for or receive any ballot except at the place where he is entitled to vote. The result of these provisions is to completely do away with ticket-holders. As shown in the January number of *THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER*, these ticket-holders are paid on an average from \$12,000 to \$18,000 per annum in the city of Baltimore, and furnish the principal pretext for raising for election purposes, by assessment and otherwise, much larger sums of money, a considerable part of which is undoubtedly spent corruptly. Besides this, the very employment of from 3000 to 4000 voters as ticket-holders at every election is in itself nothing more or less than a species of organized bribery, only tolerated by reason of excuses which this bill takes away altogether.

In the next place the bill provides measures for preventing the ascertainment by others of how a man votes. This provides a most effectual check against bribery, for candidates will not be apt to pay out large sums of money to buy votes without some further assurance than the mere uncorroborated statement of payees that the goods have been or shall be delivered as per contract.

As to the method by which the secrecy of the ballot can be best assured there is room for considerable difference of opinion. Theoretically the plan adopted in the bill under consideration is undoubtedly the best. By it all the names of all candidates for any office are printed on a single ballot which is given to the voter, who is required to take it into a private compartment of the polling place, and there having stricken off all the names of candidates excepting those he intends voting for, he folds up his ballot and hands it so folded to be put into the ballot box. But to the adoption of this system in Maryland where only a single ballot box is used, and all the names of candidates voted for by any voter must be upon the same ticket, there are several practical objections. To print all the names of all the candidates upon every ballot would occasion great inconvenience and perplexity to a majority of voters, and would necessitate the giving an amount of supervision to the preparation of the ballots of illiterate voters which would be fatal to the

secrecy of the ballot on the one hand, and would offer undue facilities for bribery on the other. It seems to us therefore that under our system of voting it would be better to adopt a plan more like that of the bill said to have been drawn by Mr. Elihu Root, and presented in the New York Assembly by Mr. Hamilton, as described in the *Nation* of January 19. Under Mr. Hamilton's bill full sets of ballots are printed for each political party, and for any number of citizens equal to at least one per cent of the qualified voters who apply for them by petition two weeks before election day. Each set of tickets is printed in a book bearing its party name or title, not exceeding two words. When a voter comes to the polls he is given one ticket from each book, and takes them all into a private compartment where he selects the ticket he intends to vote, and having made any alterations upon it he thinks proper, folds it up, and after coming out destroys in the presence of the judges all the other tickets received from them, without letting it be seen what is printed on them. The objection made to adopting the plan in New York, where in case there were seven ballot boxes used and six kinds of tickets printed each voter would have to be provided with forty-two ballots, would not apply in Maryland, where, only one box being used, the voter would only require one ticket for each political party making nominations.

We notice also in the committee's bill the omission of one feature of the English act from which it is taken, that we consider a most salutary one—the provision that the residence and occupation of every candidate should be printed with his name upon the ballots. It is decidedly to the interest of the State that independent voting should be encouraged, and the most effective way of voting independently is to scratch the names of undesirable candidates. But the voter cannot scratch his ticket understandingly unless he knows something about the personality of the candidates, and the quickest way to find out about a man is to ascertain his residence and occupation. People who apply for employment from individuals are generally expected to furnish this information about themselves, and there seems to be no reason why candidates for public office should not do likewise.

THE SCHOOL BOARD AND "SPOILS."

IT is a matter of congratulation that the scheme to dismiss Prof. Henry A. Wise, the Superintendent of our public schools, has miscarried, and that he has been elected for another term of four years. What members of the School Board were in the combination to defeat him is known, but what were the real motives of the most of them can only be conjectured. The thing that is evident is that "politics" was in it.

There was no allegation that Prof. Wise had not discharged his duty well. Indeed, every member of the Board voting against him, when approached on the subject, disclaimed any intention to make such a charge. A very absurd reason was put forth, viz., that East Baltimore should be represented in the School Superintendency, but, unfortunately for this reason, the man who was named to "placate" that section, until within the last few months resided in the extreme western section of the city.

The movement appears to have been, so far as its "true inwardness" can be discovered, a combination of several ambitious teachers and their friends, some parties having business relations with the Board who were desirous to have a personal friend in office, and possibly one or two Commissioners who may not have received from the Superintendent favors of doubtful propriety which they asked. The political bosses seem to have taken a hand simply to oblige their friends in the combination.

A scheme like this generally fails of successful accomplishment if there is time sufficient for its exposure. Fortunately, this was the case in this instance. The moment it became known, public indignation was aroused. The *Sun*, which is always on the right side when "politics" and the schools are concerned, vigorously denounced the whole business. The *American* did the same thing. Several

members of the Board who had voted against Mr. Wise publicly announced their intention to vote for him at the next meeting, one of them not hesitating to say that he was glad to be relieved from the political pressure which had forced him to vote against what he believed to be right.

Mr. Wentz, at the next meeting of the Board, "gracefully," as the act was characterized by Mr. Poe, on behalf of those who had voted against Mr. Wise, nominated that gentleman and he was *unanimously* elected. Whatever may be thought as to the "gracefulness" of Mr. Wentz and his coadjutors in yielding to the inevitable, there cannot be two opinions as to its consistency, and no better argument in favor of a change in the composition of the School Board can be made than the record of one half of its members on the question. On one Tuesday night ten members of the Board, by their votes, declare their belief that there should be a change in the office of Superintendent. On the next Tuesday, the number having dwindled to seven or eight, these come up "gracefully" and vote for the man whom at the previous meeting they declared ought not to be elected. It was "politics" that made the combination; it was "politics" that caused the scheme to be abandoned when its success was found to be hopeless. "Politics" always counts noses beforehand, and if the count is certain and defeat seems to be inevitable there is always a graceful abandonment, like that of Mr. Wentz, of the scheme in hand. Those members of the Board, the President Mr. Morris, Mr. Poe, Mr. King, Dr. Connolly, Mr. Baer, and others, who by their votes and exertions prevented this unjust striking down of a faithful public officer, deserve the thanks of those who believe in civil service reform principles.

NOTES.

IN the matter of "vilification and slander," could anything surpass the following outrageous and treasonable passage which we find in the *Baltimore Sun* of February 1st?

It is an unfortunate thing that the dominant party in this State has shown so much of the Bourbon characteristic of never learning—at least of rarely learning how to do anything for the public good, and never forgetting to do those things which are directly beneficial to individual politicians.

Could THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, or even Mr. Cowen, have said anything worse? True, it is said in connection with the "Belt" question, in which the *Sun* is sometimes wantonly supposed to have peculiar interests involved.

THE new civil service rules are made public as we go to press, and we will review them at length in our next issue. Among the changes are the removal of the age limit; the certification of three names to the appointing officer from the list of eligibles, instead of four as at present; and the requirement of a percentage of 70 in examination for admission to the list of eligibles, with an exception in favor of soldiers and sailors and their widows and orphans, who are admitted if they reach a percentage of 65. Examinations for promotions are provided for at length, and soldiers, etc., are exempted from them. Stringent rules are made prohibiting partisan work in the classified service, and providing for instant dismissal for violation of the provisions of the law forbidding political assessments.

THE *Baltimore Sun* deliberately falsified the facts in regard to the payment of the costs of the registration cases by the Baltimore Reform League, and while it has been compelled to retract its statements, it has done so in its characteristically unmanly way. The counsel of the League, Mr. John C. Rose, was interviewed by a representative of the *Baltimore American* last week, in the course of which he said:

The clerks claimed seventy cents for each of the one thousand eight hundred and seventeen names in which the court had given the order "dismissed." To make up this seventy cents the clerks had charged for a number of things which they neither had done nor were required to do. Their bill went upon the theory that a separate petition was filed for each name, when, in fact, there were on an average about forty-one or forty-two names in each petition. There were but one hundred and four or one hundred and five petitions filed, yet the clerks charged

the League for filing 1817 petitions, for docketing 1817 cases, for issuing summons for witnesses in 1817 cases, for entering appearances of counsel in 1817 cases, etc. They had already collected costs estimated on that same liberal basis from the city for nearly 1500 cases in which the names were ordered off, and will, I suppose, claim them for 1000 names as yet unacted on whenever they may be finally passed upon. That is, having 105 papers to file, etc., they collected from the city fees for filing 1500, and expect the League to pay them 1800, and they have 1000 more yet to charge for. Worse still, some of the things for which they tried to collect 3300 hours' work, as entering appearance of counsel, were never done at all. Of course, the League never proposed to pay any such outrageous claims as these. The sheriff had charged fifty cents for each witness summoned. This is the fee which the law allows for their service when it is performed, but in many cases in which the service was charged for it had not been performed. I gave written directions to each and every case to the sheriff to summon the witnesses personally, or to do his best to do so, but an inspection of the sheriff's returns showed that a personal summons had been made in just about one case in every one hundred. When the summons was not personal we could not compel the attendance of the witness. For such service as this we had no intention of paying what the law said was to be paid when the work was well done.

All the court costs and other election expenses of the League have now been paid except the witness fees, and these are being paid as fast as money can be raised to meet them.

THE bill providing for the extension of the term of office of the Mayor of Baltimore from two to four years, which passed the Senate last week, has taken the public by surprise, and justifies the anxiety which is entertained in all quarters in regard to it. The bill is made to apply to the present incumbent who was elected by the people for two years, and whose term will by this act, if it passes the House and is approved, be extended to four years. The object of the bill is clearly to postpone the mayoralty election in order to prevent any catastrophe which might result from a too sudden test of the virtues of new registration lists and stringent election laws. It is well known that the mayoralty contest is the only one at which a dangerous impetus can be given to a reform movement, and it is doubtless thought that if the municipal election which would naturally take place in 1889 is postponed to 1891, the "boys" will have gotten used to the new fangled ideas, and public scrutiny will have averted its eyes a little. It is hoped that the House will amend the bill by striking out the provision which makes it apply to the present mayor.

THE PROPOSED NEW YORK BALLOT ACT.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTING OF THE BALLOTS IN ELECTIONS FOR PUBLIC OFFICERS AT PUBLIC EXPENSE, AND TO REGULATE ELECTIONS FOR PUBLIC OFFICERS.

The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. From and after the passage of this act, all ballots cast in elections for public officers within this State shall be printed and distributed at public expense, as hereinafter provided. The printing of the ballots and of the cards of instruction for the electors in each county, and the delivery of the same to the election officers, as provided in section fourteen of this act, shall be a county charge, the payment of which shall be provided for in the same manner as the payment of other county expenses.

Section 2. Except as in this act otherwise provided, it shall be the duty of the county clerk of each county to provide printed ballots for every election for public officers in which the electors, or any of the electors, within the county participate, and to cause to be printed in the appropriate ballot the name of every candidate whose name has been certified or presented to the county clerk in the manner provided for in this act.

Section 3. Any convention of delegates held for the purpose of nominating candidates for public offices to be filled by the electors of the State at large, may present the name of a candidate for each of said offices to the Secretary of State. Such presentation shall be made by filing in the office of the Secretary of State a certificate containing the

names of the candidates, and specifying the offices for which they are respectively nominated, signed by the presiding officer and the secretary of the convention. Such certificate shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of State not less than thirty days before the election at which such offices are to be filled. Whenever the Secretary of State has been so notified of such nominations, he shall, at least twenty-five days before such election, certify the names of the candidates and the offices for which they have been respectively nominated to the clerk of each county, and to the chief of the bureau of elections in the City of New York, and to the board of elections in the City of Brooklyn.

Section 4. Whenever requested so to do by five hundred electors of the State in a writing or writings signed by them and filed in his office, which shall be known as a nomination paper, the Secretary of State shall in like manner certify the name of any person proposed in such paper as a candidate for any public office to be filled by the electors of the State at large. For the office of elector of President and Vice-President of the United States, the names of as many candidates may be presented in one nomination paper as there are such electors to be chosen. The name of every candidate for any other office to be filled by the electors of the State at large shall be presented in a separate nomination paper. No person shall subscribe more than one nomination paper for each office to be filled.

Section 5. The Secretary of State shall cause to be preserved in his office all certificates of nomination and nomination papers filed therein under the provisions of this act.

Section 6. Any convention of delegates held for the purpose of nominating candidates for any public office to be filled by the electors of any district or political division within the State, may present the name of a candidate for each of said offices to the county clerk of each county within which any electors may by law vote for such candidate. Such presentation shall be made by filing in the office of said clerk a certificate containing the names of the candidates, and specifying the offices for which they are respectively nominated, signed by the presiding officer and the secretary of the convention. Such certificate shall be filed not less than twenty days before the election at which the offices are to be filled.

Section 7. The name of a candidate for any public office to be filled by the electors of any district or political division within the State may be presented to the county clerk of each county within which any of the electors may by law vote for such candidate, by filing in the office of said clerk a writing or writings, which shall be known as a nomination paper, signed by electors resident within the district or political division for which the candidate is presented. The number of signatures in any such nomination paper shall be one for every fifty electors who voted at the last election of public officers in the district or political division for which the candidate is presented, provided that the number of signatures need not exceed one hundred. No person shall subscribe more than one nomination paper for each office to be filled.

Section 8. Each county clerk shall cause to be preserved in his office all certificates of nomination and nomination papers filed therein under the provisions of this act.

Section 9. Except as otherwise provided in this act, every ballot printed under the provisions of this act shall be printed in accordance with the existing provisions of law. Every ballot printed under the provisions of this act shall contain the name of every candidate whose nomination for any office specified in the ballot has been certified or presented according to the provisions of this act, and no other names. The names of candidates for each office shall be arranged under the designation of the office in alphabetical order according to surnames, except that the names of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States presented in any one certificate of nomination or nomination paper, as hereinbefore provided, shall be arranged in a separate group. At the end of the list of candidates for each office shall be left a blank space large enough to contain as many written names of candidates as there are offices to be filled.

Section 10. Not more than four and not less than seven days before any election for public officers within any county,

the county clerk shall publish in the newspapers in which notice of the election is published, all the names of candidates which will be printed upon ballots in the county, specifying the offices for which the candidates have been respectively nominated. Such names and designations of offices shall be arranged in such notice as nearly as possible in the order in which they will be printed in the ballots.

Section 11. Whenever any question is to be submitted to the vote of the people, the county clerk of each county shall provide printed ballots of such form as will enable the electors to vote upon the question in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 12. The county clerk of each county shall provide for each election district in the county one hundred ballots of each kind to be voted in the district for every fifty, or fraction of fifty, electors registered in the district. If there is no registry in the district, the county clerk shall provide ballots to the number of one hundred for every fifty, or fraction of fifty, electors who voted at the last election in the district.

Section 13. All ballots when printed shall be fastened together in convenient numbers in books, in such a manner that each ballot may be detached and removed separately. No book shall contain ballots of more than one kind.

Section 14. At least fifteen minutes before the opening of the polls at any election of public officers within any county, the county clerk of the county shall cause to be delivered to the board of inspectors of election of each election district which is within the county, and in which the election is to be held, at the polling place of the district, the proper number of ballots of each kind to be used in the district.

Section 15. At the same time and in the same manner as inspectors of election are appointed or elected, two additional inspectors of election for each election district in the State shall be appointed or elected. Immediately after the organization of any board of inspectors of election, the chairman of the board shall designate two of the inspectors whose duty it shall be to have charge of the ballots, and to furnish them to the voters in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 16. Except in the City and County of New York, all officers upon whom is imposed by law the duty of designating polling places, shall provide, in each polling place designated by them, a sufficient number of places or compartments in which electors may mark their ballots screened from observation, and a guard-rail so constructed that only persons within the said rail can approach within five feet of the ballot boxes or the places or compartments herein provided for. The number of such places or compartments shall not be less than one for every one hundred electors who voted at the last preceding election in the district. No persons other than electors engaged in receiving, preparing, or depositing their ballots shall be permitted to be within said rail, except by authority of the inspectors of elections. In the City and County of New York the chief of the bureau of elections shall provide such places or compartments and guard-rails. The expense of providing such places or compartments and guard-rails shall be a public charge, and shall be provided for in each town and city in the same manner as the other election expenses.

Section 17. On any day of election of public officers in any election district, each qualified elector shall be entitled to receive from the inspectors of election ballots for all the offices for which the elector desires to vote. It shall be the duty of such inspectors of election to deliver such ballots to the elector. Before delivering any ballot to an elector, the two inspectors of election having charge of the ballots shall write their names or initials upon the back of the ballot, immediately under the printed endorsement.

Section 18. On receipt of his ballots the elector shall forthwith, and without leaving the polling place, retire alone to one of the places or compartments provided, to prepare his ballots. He shall prepare his ballots by crossing out therefrom the names of all candidates except those for whom he wishes to vote, or, in case of a ballot containing a question to be submitted to the vote of the people, by crossing out therefrom parts of the ballot in such a manner that the remaining part shall express his vote upon the question submitted. After preparing his ballots the elector shall fold

each of them so that the face of the ballot will be concealed, and so that the printed endorsement and the signatures or initials of the inspectors thereon may be seen. He shall then vote forthwith and before leaving the polling place. No elector shall occupy more than ten minutes in preparing and voting his ballots.

Section 19. Any elector who declares under oath to the inspectors of elections having charge of the ballots that he cannot read or write, or that by reason of physical disability he is unable to mark his ballots, may declare his choice of candidates to either one of the inspectors having charge of the ballots, who, in the presence of the elector, shall prepare the ballots for voting in the manner hereinbefore provided: or such elector, after making such oath, may require one of such inspectors to read to him the contents of the ballot, so that the elector can ascertain the relative position of the names of the candidates on each ballot, whereupon the electors shall retire to one of the places or compartments provided, to prepare his ballots in the manner hereinbefore provided.

Section 20. If any elector after preparing any ballot, or after any ballot has been prepared for him, shall not vote such ballot, no other ballot of the same kind shall be delivered to him, provided that if any elector spoils a ballot, he may obtain another from the inspectors of election upon returning the spoiled ballot. Every elector who does not vote any ballot delivered to him shall, before leaving the polling place, return such ballot to the inspectors of election having charge of the ballots.

Section 21. No inspector of election shall deposit any ballot upon which the proper official endorsement hereinbefore provided for does not appear.

Section 22. The county clerk of each county shall cause to be printed in large type on cards in English and in such other languages as he deems necessary, instructions for the guidance of electors in preparing their ballots. He shall furnish twelve such cards, each printed in all the languages determined upon by him, to the board of inspectors of election in each election district, at the same time and in the same manner as the printed ballots. The board of inspectors of election shall post not less than one of such cards in each place or compartment provided for the preparation of ballots, and not less than three of such cards elsewhere in and about the polling place, upon the day of election.

Section 23. In the canvass of the votes, any ballot which is not endorsed by the inspectors of election, as provided in this act, or from which it is impossible to determine the elector's choice, shall be void, and shall not be counted, but shall be treated and preserved in the same manner as defective ballots.

Section 24. All the provisions of this act relating to county clerks shall apply in the City and County of New York to the chief of the bureau of elections, and not to the county clerk. Such provisions shall apply in the City of Brooklyn to the board of elections, and not to the county clerk of Kings County.

Section 25. This act shall not apply to elections for town and village officers in towns and villages where there is no provision by law for the registration of electors, nor to elections for public officers determined otherwise than by ballot.

Section 26. No officer of election shall disclose to any person the name of any candidate for whom any elector has voted. No officer of election shall do any electioneering on election day. No person whatever shall do any electioneering on election day within any polling place, or within fifty feet of any polling place. No person shall remove any ballot from any polling place before the closing of the polls. No person shall apply for or receive any ballot in any polling place other than that in which he is entitled to vote. Any person violating any provision of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

Section 27. No person shall (1) falsely make, or fraudulently deface, or fraudulently destroy any certificate of nomination or nomination paper, or any part thereof; or (2) file any certificate of nomination paper, knowing the same or any part thereof to be falsely made; or (3) suppress any certi-

cate of nomination or nomination paper which has been duly filed, or any part thereof; or (4) forge or falsely make the official endorsement on any ballot. Every person violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a felony.

Section 28. Every public officer upon whom any duty is imposed by this act, who shall wilfully neglect or omit to perform such duty, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment in the county jail or penitentiary for a term of not less than six months and not more than three years, or by a fine of not less than two hundred and fifty and not more than three thousand dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Section 29. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Section 30. This act shall take effect immediately.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE REFORM LEAGUE ELECTION LAW FOR THE COUNT OF BALLOTS.

A SPECIAL dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun* from New York, printed on February 1st, says:

Well informed and thoughtful citizens believe that the laws of this State affecting registration and the depositing and counting of the votes are the simplest, safest and most practicable election laws yet devised. The prescribed methods of voting are simple and easily understood. The counting of the votes, while being properly hedged in by legal safeguards, is open to public inspection. The directions for conducting the count are so clear and definite that they cannot be misunderstood by a person of average intelligence, and inspectors of election are required by law to "speak, read, and write the English language understandingly." The possibility of inaccuracies in the count is guarded against by requiring that all the ballots in each voting precinct must be counted separately by each of the inspectors, and the several counts must agree. When all of the ballots have been counted in this careful manner, a detailed statement of the result is drawn up in triplicate. Each of the three sheets must be signed and sworn to by all of the inspectors. The penalty for fraud or attempted fraud on the part of the inspectors is imprisonment for not less than one nor more than five years. After the three sworn copies of the result of the count have been delivered—one to the county clerk, one to the clerk of the board of aldermen, and one to the bureau of elections—the ballots are gathered up and immediately destroyed. The work of the inspectors of election, including the destruction of the ballots, must be accomplished, without adjournment, within twenty-four hours of the close of the polls. Thus is danger of outside interference or collusion provided against. The prompt destruction of the ballots clinches the principle that "you cannot go behind the returns." The boards of aldermen in the cities and the boards of supervisors in the counties constitute the boards of canvassers. Their powers, however, are merely supervisory. They, in reality, only attest the accuracy of the tabulated returns, which are prepared by clerks according to law. Boards of canvassers are bound to count the returns as made by the inspectors of election. If for partisan or other reasons they neglect to do so, the Supreme Court may by mandamus compel them to do their duty. The backbone of the New York election law is the security and conclusiveness of the count. Under it there can be no changed returns and no disputed results. It was public confidence in the honesty and adequacy of this election law that prevented riot and bloodshed in the large cities of this State during the few days of exciting suspense that followed the presidential election of 1884.

The sections of the Reform League Election Law providing for the reception and count of the ballots correspond almost exactly with the provisions of the New York law. We print in part the sections of the proposed law referring especially to election day.

Section 42. All printed ballots used at any election shall be upon plain white printing paper of ordinary book weight and without any impression, device, mark or other peculiarity whatsoever upon the back thereof to distinguish one ballot from another in appearance, and they shall be printed with plain black ink. Any voter may vote a ballot entirely written, or partly written and partly printed. No ballot shall be received or counted which does not conform to these requirements.

Section 43. The room used for the polling place shall be of a reasonable size so as to admit at all times at least twelve persons, including the watchers, challengers, police officers and candidates, and exclusive of the judges and clerks of election; it shall be properly heated and lighted, and have convenient chairs and tables for the use of the judges and clerks and the challengers. The judges shall forbid any crowd or assemblage nearer than fifty yards to the

polls, except such as are in line for the purpose of voting. The police or peace officers shall keep a clear passage through any crowd, constantly open, so that any voter shall have undisturbed access to and egress from the polls. Voters shall enter the polling room to cast their votes, but only one voter shall be allowed in the room at a time except such as are above provided for. The ballot boxes shall be placed on a table in plain view of the judges, clerks, challengers, watchers, and the voter. The table shall be large enough to allow the judges, clerks, and challengers to be comfortably seated at it.

Section 44. The election polls shall be opened by the judges at six o'clock in the morning, and shall be kept open until four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, at which time the polls shall be closed. If any judge or clerk shall not be present at the expiration of fifteen minutes after the time to open the polls, the judge or judges present shall fill the place of such absent judge or clerk, by appointing in his stead a person of the same political party as the absentee; one of the judges shall administer to such substitute the oath required of the judge or clerk originally appointed. After the opening of the polls no judge or clerk shall wilfully absent himself therefrom, until all the ballots cast shall have been counted and the returns completed. If in case of absolute necessity any judge or clerk in attendance shall be compelled to absent himself, he shall appoint some fit person of the same political party with himself to act in his stead until his return, having first administered to such substitute the same oath which he himself had taken. Blank forms for the appointment of substitute judges and clerks, and of the oath aforesaid, shall be supplied by the commissioners, and the oaths when administered shall be preserved and returned by the judges to the commissioners. The appointment and swearing in of all such substitutes and the reason therefor, and the time when such substitutes began and ceased to serve as judge or clerk, shall be noted by the judges in the poll book of the precinct; such substitute shall cease to act whenever the judge or clerk in whose stead he was appointed shall be present.

Section 45. Each political party shall have the right to designate and keep a challenger and a watcher at each place of registration, revision of registration, and voting, who shall be assigned to such position immediately adjoining the judges of election, inside the registration or polling room, as will enable them to see each person as he offers to register or vote, and they shall be protected in the discharge of their duty by the judges of election and the police. A certificate signed by the presiding officer of the chief managing committee of their party in the city or county shall be sufficient evidence of the right of such challenger and watcher to be present in the registration or polling room; in case any challenger or watcher does not produce such certificate, the judges of election shall recognize a challenger or watcher vouched for by the persons present belonging to such political party, or by the judge representing such party. The presiding officer of such committee may remove any challenger or watcher appointed by him. Such challenger and watcher shall have the right to remain in the polling room from the time the polls are opened until the returns are completed. Each candidate, and in cases where there is more than one candidate on the ticket, a majority of such candidates, may, by certificate in writing, appoint a watcher who shall have the same privileges as the said challengers and watchers hereinbefore provided. The persons appointed as challengers or watchers shall be of good character, sober and orderly. The police shall, in no manner, interfere with such challengers or watchers, except to keep order. In case of the absence of any duly appointed challenger or watcher his place shall be filled until his return by the appointment of a person of the same political party as the absentee, by the judge of that party.

Section 46. The judges of election shall have authority to keep the peace, and to cause any person to be arrested for any breach of the peace, or for any breach of the election laws, or any interference with the progress of an election, or of the canvass of the ballots, and it shall be the duty of all officers of the law present to obey the order of any judge of election; and an officer making an arrest by the direction of any judge shall be protected in so doing as fully as if a warrant had been issued to him to make such arrest.

Section 47. Each clerk of election shall keep a poll book containing a column headed "Number," another headed "Residence," another headed "Name of voter"; all entries therein shall be made in ink; the name and residence of each person voting shall be entered upon each of the poll books by the clerk having charge of said book in regular succession under the proper heading, the number of such voter being placed opposite to his name in the column headed "Number."

Section 48. As soon as the polls are opened and immediately before any ballots are received by the judges, they shall open every ballot box used or to be used and permit each challenger and watcher present to examine such ballot box and every part thereof, so that he may be satisfied as to the structure thereof and that said boxes are empty. The boxes shall then be locked and the key delivered to one of the judges, and shall not be again opened until the closing of the polls, and until such closing each box shall be kept constantly in sight of all persons entitled to be present, and shall be so placed that the voter offering his ballot and the judges and clerks, challengers and watchers, may conveniently see every ballot deposited therein.

Section 49. One of the judges shall receive the ballot from the voter and shall announce the residence and name of such voter in a loud voice; the other two judges shall use and handle the two registers delivered to the judges by the commissioners, each using one;

when the voter's name is found by both upon the registers, and the residence as given by such voter corresponds with the residence on such registry, and he is described as a qualified voter therein and not erased, then, unless such voter is challenged, the judge receiving the ballot shall fold the same if it be not folded, and shall then put the same into the ballot box in the presence of the voter and of the judges and clerks and other persons in attendance. The judges having charge of the registers shall then in the column prepared therein, headed "Voted," in the same line with the name of the voter, mark the word "voted" or the letter "V." If the person offering to vote shall be challenged, the person challenging shall assign his reason therefor, and thereupon one of the judges shall administer to him an oath to answer questions, and if he shall take said oath he shall be questioned by the judge or judges touching such cause of challenge, and he may also be questioned by the person challenging him in regard thereto, and if the majority of the judges are of opinion that he is the person so registered his vote shall be received accordingly. The vote of no one shall be received by the judges whose name does not appear upon the registers as a qualified voter.

Section 50. As soon as the election polls shall have been closed, the judges in their several precincts shall immediately, and at the place of the polling, proceed to canvass the votes cast. The canvass shall not be adjourned or postponed until it shall have been fully completed, nor until the several statements hereinafter required to be made by the judges and clerks shall have been made out, signed and sealed up by them. The judges shall have the right to station police officers or officers of the peace at the entrance to the room wherein such canvass is made in order to keep the peace and exclude persons not entitled to admittance. The challengers and watchers shall be allowed to be present and so near that they can see that the judges and clerks are faithfully performing their duties.

Section 51. Immediately after the closing of the polls, before counting the ballots in any box and while the poll clerks are canvassing their books, the judges shall write in ink, opposite to and against the name of each person entered in their registers, who is not shown by said registers to have voted, and in the appropriated column headed "voted" the word "no," so that the said column may be wholly filled up, and the judges shall then compare the registers, make them agree, and ascertain the number of persons who by said registers are shown to have voted at that poll on that day, and when they have made comparison and ascertained such fact they shall announce the same in a loud voice.

Section 52. The judges shall then count and announce the whole number of ballots in the box. They shall reject any ballots which are deceitfully folded together, noting the number so rejected, and if, after rejecting all such ballots, the number of ballots in the box exceeds the number of names entered on each of the poll lists, the ballots shall be replaced in the box, and the box closed and well shaken and again opened, and one of the judges, standing with his back to the box, shall publicly draw out and destroy so many ballots unopened as shall be equal to such excess. The board shall then proceed to count the votes in the following manner: The judges shall open the ballots and place together those which contain the same names, usually called "straight" tickets, so that the several kinds shall be on separate files. Each of the judges shall examine the separate files, which are or are supposed to be alike, and shall exclude from such file any ballots which may have a name or an erasure different from the others of such file. One of the judges shall then take one file of the kind of ballots which contain the same names and count them by tens, carefully examining each name on each of said ballots; such judge shall then pass the ten ballots aforesaid to the judge sitting next to him who shall count them in the same manner, and who shall then pass them to the third judge, who shall also count them in the same manner; the third judge shall then call the names of the persons named in the ten ballots and the offices for which they are designated, and the poll clerks shall tally ten votes for each of said persons. When the judges shall have gone through such file of ballots containing the same names, by tens, and when the poll clerks shall have tallied all the votes, by tens, for each of such persons, they shall then take up the next file of ballots containing the same names and shall count them, by tens, in the same way, and shall call the names of the persons named in said ballots and the offices for which they are designated, and the tally clerks shall tally the votes, by tens, for each of said persons in the same manner as in the first instance. When the counting of each file of ballots, which contain the same names, shall be completed, the clerks shall compare their tallies together and ascertain the total number of ballots of that kind so canvassed, and when they agree upon the number, one of them shall announce it, in a loud voice, to the judges. The judges shall then canvass the other kinds of ballots, that is to say, those containing names partly from one kind of ballots and partly from another, being those usually called "split" tickets, and those from which the name of a person appearing on such ballots has been omitted or erased, usually called "scratched" tickets. All these shall be canvassed separately by one of the judges sitting between the two other judges, which judge shall call out each name and the office for which it is designated, the other judges looking at the ballot at the same time and the clerks making tally of the same. When all the ballots have been canvassed in this manner, the poll clerks shall compare their tallies together and ascertain the total number of votes received by each candidate, and when they agree

upon the numbers, one of them shall announce in a loud voice to the judges the number of votes received by each candidate on each of the kinds of ballots, that is to say, the number received by him on the "straight" tickets, the number received by him on the "split" and "scratched" tickets, and the total number received by him. If requested by any watcher or challenger present at any canvass it shall be the duty of the judges and each of them to exhibit to such watcher or challenger any ballots cast, fully opened and in such condition and manner that he may fully and carefully read and examine the same, but the judges shall not allow any ballot to be taken from their hands.

Section 56. When the canvass of the ballots shall have been completed and the clerks shall have announced to the judges the total number of votes received by each candidate, each of the judges of election, in turn, shall then proclaim in a loud voice the total number of votes received by each person voted for in such precinct and the office for which he is designated, and the number of votes for and the number of votes against any proposition which shall have been submitted to the vote of the people; such proclamation shall be *prima facie* evidence of the result of the canvass of such ballots. In the City of Baltimore, the judges shall, immediately after such proclamation, deliver to a policeman on duty at the polling place a statement subscribed with their names, which shall be sealed up and forthwith conveyed by the said policeman to the office of the board of police commissioners, whose duty it shall be to file and preserve the same. Such statements shall contain the total number of votes in such ballot box, and the number of votes found therein for each and every candidate, and any person applying may inspect the same.

Section 57. The judges shall make quadruple statements or returns of the result of the canvass, one of which shall be written, or partly written and partly printed, in each of the poll books used at such election. Each of the statements shall, if possible, be made upon a single sheet of paper, and shall contain a caption stating the day on which, and the number of the election precinct and the county, or ward of the city in relation to which said statements shall be made, and the time of opening and closing the polls of such precinct, and showing the whole number of votes given for each person, designating the office for which they were given. Such statements shall be written or partly written and partly printed, in words at length; and in case a proposition of any kind has been submitted to a vote at such election, such statements shall also show the whole number of votes cast for or against such proposition, written out or partly written and partly printed in words at length, and at the end of such statements shall be written a certificate that the same is correct in all respects, which certificate and each sheet of paper forming part of the statement shall be subscribed by the judges and clerks. If any judge or clerk shall decline to sign such return, he shall state his reason therefor in writing, and a copy thereof signed by himself shall be enclosed with each return. Each of the statements, except those contained in the poll books, shall be enclosed in an envelope, which shall then be securely sealed with sealing wax or other adhesive material, and each of the judges and clerks shall write his name across the fold of the envelope. One of the envelopes shall be directed to the Clerk of the Circuit Court of the county, or the Superior Court of Baltimore City, as the case may be, and one to the county commissioners or to the Mayor of the City of Baltimore, as the case may be. Each set of tallies shall also be signed by the election clerks and the judges of election, and each shall be enclosed in an envelope securely signed and sealed as aforesaid, one of which shall be addressed to the election commissioners and the other to the Register of Wills. On the outside of every envelope shall be endorsed the statement that it contains the votes cast, or the tallies, and for what precinct, ward, city, or county.

Section 58. Before enclosing in the envelope the statements or

returns aforesaid, and after signing the same, the judges shall securely attach to each return one ballot of each kind given for the officers to be chosen at the election, and shall state in words at length, immediately opposite such ballot, and written partly on such ballot and partly on the paper to which it shall be attached, the whole number of ballots which correspond with the one so attached, so that one of each kind of ballots received at such election for the officers then to be chosen shall be attached to such statement of the canvass. If only one ballot of any kind shall be found in the box, it shall be attached to the statement to be delivered to the clerk of the Court, and if two ballots of any kind are found in the box, one shall be attached to the statement to be delivered to said clerk, and the other to the statement to be delivered to the county commissioners or the Mayor, as the case may be. They shall also attach all the ballots rejected by them as being defective in whole or in part, to the statement to be delivered to the board of election commissioners.

Section 59. The poll books containing two of the several statements or returns shall be placed in the ballot box, and the ballot box shall then be locked and the key removed, whereupon the judges of election shall all write their names upon a strip of paper of sufficient length for the following purpose: said strip of paper shall then be pasted over the keyhole of said ballot box, in such manner that the signatures shall extend across the place of the opening of the lid, and so that when the box is opened it will tear the paper and destroy the signatures, and so that when the key is inserted in the keyhole it will tear the paper so pasted over the keyhole. Such paper shall be securely fastened to the box with sealing wax or some other adhesive material.

Section 60. Thereupon one of the judges shall take charge of the ballot box and its contents so enclosed, and another judge representing the opposite political party shall receive and hold the key thereof; each of the two judges who do not have charge of the ballot box shall take into his possession one of the statements of the votes cast, sealed up in its envelope as aforesaid, and each of the clerks shall take one of the tally sheets sealed up in an envelope as aforesaid; thereupon and before separating, the remaining ballots not attached to said statements as hereinbefore provided, shall be destroyed, and the meeting of said judges and clerks shall then be dissolved. Before twelve o'clock noon, of the day after such election, the judge having possession of the ballot box shall deliver the same with the contents aforesaid to the board of election commissioners, with the seal unbroken, and shall take a receipt therefor, and within the same period of time the judge having possession of the key shall deliver the same to the board of election commissioners and take a receipt therefor, and the two judges not having possession of the ballot box, and the two clerks shall each, before twelve o'clock of the next day after such election, deliver the statements and tallies which are in their possession respectively to the respective officers to whom they are addressed as aforesaid, and when so delivered each of said judges and clerks shall take a receipt therefor. No judge or clerk shall receive pay for his services unless he produces the receipt herein provided for. Ballot boxes used for the reception of ballots on a proposition submitted to vote, and their keys, shall be taken charge of as hereinabove directed in the case of the other ballot boxes.

Section 61. The board of election commissioners upon receiving a ballot box and the key thereof, shall note the condition of the seal or stamp on each box and make an entry of the facts touching the same upon a book to be kept by them, together with the name of the officer who delivered the box. They shall thereupon open the said ballot box and remove the poll books containing the returns of the vote cast, and note upon the same memorandum book their condition, and shall put them under lock and key in a secure place to which the public in no case shall have access.

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THE Civil-Service Reformer.

VOL. IV.—No. 3.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1888.

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VOL. IV.—No. 3.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1888.

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THE MONTH.

MR. BLAINE'S Florence letter to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, stating that his name "will not be presented to the National Convention called to assemble in Chicago in June for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States," excited so much incredulity among both his friends and enemies that he has thought it necessary to declare, in an interview with Mr. T. C. Crawford, a correspondent of the *New York World*, that the letter "was not a hap-hazard off-hand affair," but was "the result of much deliberation and careful thought," and to declare that "a man who has once been a candidate of his party and defeated owes it to his party to withdraw and not be a candidate a second time." If the subject matter were anything but the Presidency of the United States, it would be doing even Mr. Blaine an injustice to doubt the sincerity of his withdrawal. It really seems, however, as though different rules of morality controlled the making of such protestations, and that they are rarely intended to be taken as final. Nothing, for example, could exceed the precision and solemnity of President Cleveland's utterances in his letter accepting the Presidency in 1884. He said:

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust, instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits, and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

For our own part, however, we rejoice to believe that Mr. Blaine will not be the Republican candidate for President in 1888. That this belief and hope are largely shared by the general public is evidenced by a marked clearing of the political atmosphere. If the Republican managers can now find the patriotism to turn from their fruitless search of the living among the dead, and will call to their front a man trusted by the people and alive to the quickened moral impulses of the nation, the contest next fall ought to be made a healthful and vigorous struggle rather than, as has heretofore been threatened, a one-sided contest in which the friends of honest government and political progress could have but one side to choose from, and the dominant party practically nothing to fear even if it should wilfully direct its steps from the path of political reform.

SENATOR GORMAN seems to be giving President Cleveland an amusing lesson in practical spoils politics. The Senator's desire for the nomination of Governor Hill, or some

other equally objectionable and impossible candidate, has become so marked that this hitherto favorite and much rewarded friend of the Administration has actually found it necessary to announce through the Associated Press that he is not as a matter of fact opposed to Mr. Cleveland's renomination. It is certainly a little remarkable, if this protestation is sincere, that Mr. Gorman should have chosen this particular time, of all others, to publicly avow his love and admiration of the protective theory, open opposition to which is the chief plank in Mr. Cleveland's political platform, and that no explanation has been offered of the fact that in the proceedings of the National Democratic Committee Mr. Scott, who was recognized as representing Mr. Cleveland in the committee, found himself steadily opposed at every point by the senior senator from Maryland. To the common understanding it has always seemed clear that President Cleveland's unhappy, and we must add often discreditable, subserviency to Mr. Gorman's wishes could only proceed from the supposed necessity of conciliating and retaining the good will and influence of those elements in the party which Mr. Gorman especially represents, and which he himself has made the special object of repeated and well merited rebuke. It would be a sad thing, therefore, if Mr. Cleveland should now find that this sacrifice of his political principles, and the consequent loss of much of the respect and good will of many friends, have really been to no purpose. That this show of opposition on the part of Mr. Gorman should have followed closely upon the long delayed dismissal of "Higgins" is held in some quarters to be significant. Whether this be so or not, if this arch-spoilsman and Mr. Cleveland, who have so long travelled the same road, have indeed at length come to the parting of the ways, it will be joyful news indeed. But may it not rather be feared that the Senator is simply "showing his teeth" in the hope of obtaining by his course a fresh control of Maryland spoils.

MR. "FRITZ" BUCHHEIMER, the Democratic city executive of the Second Ward, is well known to our readers. His career in and out of politics, as the proprietor of a notorious political saloon and the reputed director of monstrous crimes against the suffrage, has been one of the fruitful themes of every political movement heretofore aimed at the overthrow of our city bosses, the worst of whom he serves with an exemplary obedience and efficiency. As Mayor Latrobe was under the same obligations to him as was Mayor Hodges, it occasioned no surprise when the former followed the example of the latter in reappointing him clerk of Fell's Point market. The appointment of his son, "Fritz Junior," to a place in the Custom House has simply created the impression that "the party" felt more grateful for the escape of last fall than it did for the fraudulent defeat of Judge Brown. But it has been reserved for Governor Jackson to furnish a final and overwhelming proof of the degradation of our political situation, and of the insincerity of all the pretensions of "the managers" and the men who owe their official positions to them. It will not be forgotten that Governor Jackson, in his letter of acceptance, dwelt with indignation upon the fraudulent character of our Baltimore elections,

and declared that "annual registration in Baltimore City is desirable and necessary for protection against fraudulent voting," and that he would "favor any necessary legislation for that purpose." Now, since it is a matter of public notoriety that the Second Ward has for many years been the "banner ward" of fraudulent registration and election, and that Mr. "Fritz" Buchheimer is everywhere accorded the palm for the ingenious and successful manipulation of such frauds, it could require but little independence, and no very exalted moral sense, to induce an honest Governor, in appointing a register of voters for that ward, to take every precaution to remove the office from the control of such men as "Fritz," and surely the public had a right to expect such protection. But what shall be said of the act of the Governor who has selected "Tom" Carroll, a barkeeper in "Fritz's" saloon, to fill this delicate and responsible position?

In our February issue we commented upon the scandalous proposition to appropriate \$2500 of the people's money to buy up and suppress the entire edition of Dorsey's Maryland Digest. The bill has since passed both houses and is now before the Governor with every prospect of becoming a law. Two other bills for State subscriptions to local law books have been introduced since our last issue, one to subscribe for two hundred and fifty copies of Carey's *Forms and Precedents*, and the other to subscribe to a treatise on the *Law of Insolvency in Maryland*, by Clayton J. Purnell. The editors and compilers of Carey's *Forms and Precedents* published the following card in the Baltimore *Sun* and *American* on the day following the announcement of the introduction of the bill:

BALTIMORE, February 8, 1888.

As the undersigned believe that the practice of making State subscriptions to local law books is, on general principles, of doubtful public policy and liable to serious abuse, they have declined to sanction any bill for a State subscription to CAREY'S FORMS AND PRECEDENTS, of which they are the editors and compilers. They therefore desire it understood that the bill introduced yesterday for that purpose has not received their approval and will not receive their support, and that if any such bill is passed they will decline to accept any part of the money which may be paid for the book by the State. This explanation seems to be rendered necessary by the fact that the book is known by the names of the editors and compilers, although they have no pecuniary interest in the present edition except their royalty of \$2.00 per volume.

JAMES CAREY, JR.
FRANCIS K. CAREY.

The attention of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Delegates, to which the bill was referred, was formally called to this notice, but the committee reported to the House of Delegates a bill for a subscription to fifty copies of the book at \$8.00 per copy (the regular price being \$10.00 net), and stated in the bill that the reduction was owing to the fact that the editors and compilers had waived their royalty of \$2.00 per copy. The amendment of the bill, in our opinion, simply reduced the amount of a wholly illegal and unwarranted use of the public money for private purposes from \$2500 to \$400. There seems to us even less reason for a State subscription to such books of practice as those last mentioned than for a book of the *quasi* official character of a State Digest. If the State needs books of Forms and Precedents or treatises on the Insolvent Laws, the State Librarian has an annual appropriation of \$2500 to buy them with. Nobody, however, pretends that the State subscription is meant other than as a subsidy, which we continue to think is undemocratic, unwarranted by the constitution, and opposed by public policy.

THE new National Civil Service Rules, which were made public just as we were going to press last month and to which we briefly referred, are on the whole in the direction of improvement, and will add to the practical efficiency of the workings of the Civil Service Commission. We cannot, however, pass without criticism the extraordinary exemptions made by the rule in favor of soldiers and sailors and their widows and orphans. While a percentage of 70 must be reached by all other applicants for admission to the classified service before they can be placed on the list of "eligibles," soldiers and sailors and their widows and orphans need only reach a percentage of 65, and the same class of persons are exempted from the examinations prescribed for all other persons in the classified service seeking promotion. It is possible the latter provision might have some sentimental basis, if the examinations for promotions were concerned with anything except the practical proficiency of the incumbent in performing his daily duties, or if a failure to pass an examination for promotion would result in a dismissal from the service altogether, but it is impossible to defend the distinction in regard to examinations for admission to the service. If a percentage of 70 is thought necessary to determine the fitness of an applicant for the particular Government service for which the examination is held, it is certainly because a person who cannot reach that percentage is not thought competent to perform such service. Moreover, the exemption infringes upon the principle of "fair play to all comers" which is the basis of the act, and introduces a form of favoritism which is inconsistent with it. If it be replied that the distinction between 65 and 70 per cent is too small to make any practical difference, we have only to rejoin that the exemption then becomes part of the too prevalent "soldier-vote" demagogism which is discreditable alike to those who trade upon it and those who make a trade in it possible.

MR. WM. W. MCINTIRE, the member of the First Branch of the City Council from the Eleventh Ward, has introduced a resolution to abolish the secret sessions of the Council, which brings up an important subject which has received entirely too little attention of late at the hands of our newspapers and public men. The earnest opposition to the same objectionable custom which prevails in the United States Senate, which was led by Senator Logan, seems to have found no leader since his death, and the little flurry of public indignation which his eloquent attacks upon it aroused has, we fear, quite subsided. It is one of the unhappy features of the practice in the national body that it has been copied blindly by State and municipal legislative assemblies with the same evil results and surroundings. It is well known that the secret executive session is rarely resorted to except when the confirmation of executive nominations is before the body. It is pretended, of course, that the object of the secret session is to prevent outside pressure, and to enable legislators to act in an untrammelled way upon the nominations without the fear of friends or enemies of the nominees before their eyes. It is generally admitted, however, that the real object, or at least the real result, of such secrecy is to enable members to do things in the dark which they would be ashamed to do if the public eye were upon them. What the notice of executive session really means is, "We are engaged in the division of the spoils; the public must not interfere." The executive session is wrong in principle, if for no other reason than because it conceals from the people

the doings of their servants, and enables a representative to escape a responsibility which it is his duty to face. Mr. McIntire's resolution suggests an amendment of the rules requiring that the Mayor's nominations, instead of being considered in groups of a hundred or more by the Council directly, shall be referred to the various committees, who shall examine them and report them back to the joint convention. As the secret session is the back-bone of the spoils system, we fear the resolution will receive but poor support from the advocates of that system, but we are glad to see a direct blow aimed at the public evil.

Two interesting letters will be found among our correspondence this month, one from Mr. James A. Pearce, of Kent County, a member of the committee appointed by the Democratic National Convention last fall to draft an election law, and the other from Mr. Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis, who led the splendid revolt of Indiana Republicans in 1884 to the support of President Cleveland. The views of both writers will be received and read with profound respect. Mr. Pearce is well known as an unyielding Democrat, loyal to its tradition and its candidates (sometimes too much so to please our fancy), a sturdy and consistent supporter of its doctrines, and opposed by association, prejudice, and conviction to everything connected with Republicanism. Mr. Swift, on the other hand, while, as his letter shows and his bold independence proves, he belongs to the progressive school of politics, has his personal history and associations connected with the Republican party, and clearly feels no hesitation in returning to it if the party managers will only offer him an opportunity which his very sound political conscience will permit him to accept. The utterances of both men are manly, straightforward, and wholly free from political cant. It is upon just such men's shoulders that the political progress of the nation should rest. Our correspondents will both forgive us, we are sure, if we pride ourselves upon the failure of them both to credit us with the freedom from partisanship to which we lay claim. Mr. Pearce is satisfied that our associations are with "*Reform Democracy*," while Mr. Swift does not conceal his belief that Independent *Republicanism* is the mainspring of our opinions. May we not, with some justice, claim this as a fresh evidence of the success of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER in its efforts to handle the political situation without fear or favor to either party, and to reach the truth by direct paths without regard for prejudices or preconceived notions of any sort inconsistent with it. Both of our correspondents are entirely right in their assertions and both entirely wrong. We are sure they will understand this paradox, even if some of our readers do not.

THE ELECTION LAW AND ITS PROSPECTS.

THE General Assembly has hitherto failed to pass a new registration and election law. As this is conceded to be the most important matter before that body, some review of the state of affairs that has led to the pending efforts for such legislation, and some remarks on the present condition of things, may be pertinent.

THE EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM.

It is scarcely necessary to rehearse the condition of things which has grown up under our present defective system of registration and election laws. In Baltimore City it is apparent from an inspection of the statistics of registered

voters since 1882, as well as by a comparison of the number registered here with the number registered in other cities in proportion to population, that there is a large number of false names on the lists. To ascertain what that number is we need not go to the statistics collected by the Reform League and which are accessible in its reports printed in past numbers of this journal. Mr. Poe, in advocating before the Elections Committee of the two houses the so-called Poe-Carter bills, the chief object of which seems to be to hold on to the present registration books, conceded the number to be over ten thousand, and on this he argued, with apparent candor, that it would be a great hardship on say 70,000 honest voters to have to register afresh in order to get rid of these bogus voters. On this we can only remark in passing that we think the honest voters ought to have the chance. Nor is it only in Baltimore City that the lists need purging. Mr. Higgins, of Talbot County, stated in the House only a day or two ago that over 500 names were on the books of that county which should be erased, and a similar state of affairs was stated by Mr. Wilkinson to be true of St. Mary's.

The frauds in elections—not only those which are rendered possible by the defective registration laws, but also those which depend on false personation, tampering with the ballots, and other election crimes—have been made known, and have been acknowledged by men of all parties, time and time again, ever since 1875. Over and over, the Grand Juries in Baltimore City, while presenting for trial some of the offenders against the election laws, have regretted that the condition of those laws was such as to allow many of these offences to go unpunished. One of the Grand Juries in the year 1887 used the following language in reference to election offences, in its report: "It is earnestly hoped that the statutes may be so remodeled as to better accomplish the *prevention* as well as the detection and punishment of fraud."

Our county friends are, no doubt, somewhat weary of hearing the oft told tale of election crimes in this city. But it is not only because frauds here will affect them in a State election that they are directly interested in improved legislation. Within the past ten years details have been given to the public of gross election frauds, sometimes amounting to a reversal of the will of the people, in the counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Frederick, Howard, and Talbot; and if committed there, it is reasonable to suppose that they have been or can be committed in other counties. Of course the scale is different; it is, so to speak, a small retail trade, as distinguished from the great wholesale business of Higgins & Co., but it has served its turn in a close county where the change of a few votes would change the result.

"'Tis not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church door; but 'tis enough, 'twill serve."

It was only a few days ago that Judge Stump, in his opinion in the Talbot County contested election cases, in which he dismissed the petition of the Democratic contestants on the ground that the evidence showed that the ballot box in the Easton precinct had been tampered with and enough ballots substituted to change the result in favor of the contestants, went on to say that he was "convinced that the Court committed an error in its decision six years ago in a similar contest. We were morally imposed upon then, and it is the opinion of the full bench to-day that, at that time, we erred in allowing the Republican to be counted out after he had been returned elected." The Circuit Court

of Frederick County, within the past month, unanimously refused, on similar grounds, to permit a recount of the ballots in that county in the interest of the Democratic contestant for the position of County Commissioner. It thus appears by the decision of the courts in two of the counties in this State that the present law is utterly insufficient to provide for the custody of the ballots.

This absence of any provision to keep the result of an otherwise fair election as it stood at the close of the polls, may involve the gravest consequences. In the presidential election of 1884 the vote of New York decided the contest, and Cleveland carried New York by a plurality of about 1100 votes in a total vote of over 1,100,000. If there had been any possible method of tampering with the returns there is no doubt that unlimited money could have been had for the purpose. Yet under the New York law, the substantial provisions of which the present General Assembly of Maryland is asked to enact, no amount of money would have been of the slightest avail in affecting the result. When the clock struck four on that November afternoon the question was settled, and settled forever. If in the presidential election next fall the result should turn upon the vote of Maryland, we hazard nothing in saying that, unless the present law is changed, that vote can be delivered to the highest bidder. The men are here who can falsify returns; they know how to do it because they have done it before; they are for sale, and a comparatively small sum will buy them if a larger one is not forthcoming.

PLEDGES OF REFORM.

The necessity of reform having become so apparent, it was the leading issue, indeed almost the sole issue, in the State elections last fall, and each party vied with the other in promises on the subject. The Democratic platform pledged the party, and of course the candidates of the party, to enact an election law "which should contain all the beneficial provisions of the Tilden act, with such additional safeguards as experience should suggest." The Republican Convention, "speaking for itself and its nominees," unequivocally pronounced in favor of "precinct registration by non-partisan boards—annual in the city, quadrennial, with annual revision, in the counties; minority representation not only among the officers of election and registration, but in the boards which appoint those officers; complete publicity at every stage of the registration and election procedure, and glass ballot boxes," and in conclusion committed itself without reserve to the Reform League Election Law. Many of the nominees of the Democratic party hastened to supplement the utterances of their party platform by the most positive assurances, either on the hustings or over their own signatures in the public prints, that if elected they would do their utmost to fulfil the demands of the people on this subject. Senator Goodwin, of Baltimore, was one of those who published a card of the most outspoken character. Mr. Whyte, the candidate for Attorney General, repeatedly made public statements of his desire to remove the scandal from our elections, and of his intention to devote the most earnest efforts to that end, and it is to be said to his credit that, as far as can be judged at present, he has the mind to keep his promises; certainly, if he goes on as he has begun there will be no reason to complain of him. Lastly, the campaign speakers constantly reiterated similar assurances. Mr. Poe, for instance, on one occasion, in a public speech promised to submit to the Legislature "the Reform League Election Law

with some modifications designed to free it from a plain and palpable constitutional infirmity *and make it more effective*," and followed this up with the words, "I mean to go to Annapolis next winter and to stay there until it or a better law prepared by some one else is passed." This is deserving of mention, not for any special importance that belongs to Mr. Poe or his utterances, but in view of his recent behavior, to which we shall allude further hereafter.

STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

Almost immediately after the meeting of the Legislature, five registration and election bills were laid before it, the particulars of which are set out in the admirable letter from Mr. James Alfred Pearce to the *Sun* which we publish in full in another column. Each of these bills, as he says, "distinctly adopts the Reform League Law as its basis, and re-affirms, with more or less change of detail, its substance as the reproduction, in a shape adapted to our own State, of the vital principles and 'beneficial provisions' of the Tilden act." This concurrence of opinion, of which Mr. Pearce speaks, receives additional weight from the recommendation of Messrs. Fisher, Crisfield, and Alexander, the commissioners appointed to pass upon Mr. Poe's Code and proposed amendments, in which they differ from him in some of the few changes which he made in the Reform League bill, and in those particulars recommend a return to the original draft. All this material was promptly referred in each house, not to the Committee on the Judiciary, which would seem to be the proper reference, but to the Committee on Elections, the function of which is generally understood to be to consider questions touching the election of members of its own house. These committees are made up as follows: Messrs. Brown, Dennis, Wentz, Wm. B. Peter, and Randall, of the Senate; and Messrs. Gott, Campbell, Cox, Denny, Mitchell, Nichols, Brinsfield, Benson, and Graves, of the House of Delegates.

Inasmuch as the points of difference between all these bills were very few in number, and as all of them were actually identical as to about nineteen-twentieths of their substance, it was expected—it was certainly entirely practicable—that within a week or two these committees should have been able to report to their respective houses the general framework and undisputed details of a bill, and leave the matters as to which there was difference of opinion to be settled by the Legislature itself. This reasonable expectation has been disappointed.

BACKSETS AND SUBTERFUGES.

It was at once determined that the two committees should sit together, which, however honest in its purpose, has been most unfortunate in its results, partly because of the conflicting engagements of the two houses, and partly because so large a body is naturally unwieldy. Whatever the reason may have been, the consolidated committee took things quite easily, and in the first three or four weeks held only a few occasional meetings. Meantime the circumambient atmosphere was filled with suggestions of the difficulties in the way of the reformed legislation. The counties, it was said, ought not to be put to the great additional expense involved in the new system, and their elections were, as a rule, so free from suspicion of fraud or unfairness that they ought not to be subjected to a "cumbersome" and complicated system which might be necessary in a large city. Who was responsible for these suggestions does not appear, but they were industriously disseminated.

To take up first the suggestion that the counties do not need a new law, it is a curious commentary upon it that,

during this very session of the Legislature, occurred the setting forth by the courts in Talbot and Frederick of the gross defects in the present law to which we have alluded above. Still more striking was the fact that, in the debate on the city extension bill, it was openly urged by the advocates of the bill that if the Baltimore County authorities had the appointment of the election officers to serve at the special election, the result would as a matter of course be against the city, as they claimed that it was against the city for the same reason in 1874. Next as to the expense. In another column will be found a comparison for Washington and Baltimore counties, which may be taken as fair samples for the rest of the State, showing that under the Reform League Law the expense will be no greater than under the present system, and that under Mr. Pearce's plan of dispensing with the clerks during registration it will be less. In the debate in the House on February 28, Dr. Mackall stated that he had made the computation for Cecil County with a similar result. As to the City of Baltimore, the *Sun* lately published a statement from Comptroller Horner to the effect that the cost of elections under the Reform League Law would be some \$25,000 more than at present. A few days afterwards the *American*, reviewing Mr. Horner's figures, showed that his estimate was mistaken, and that the additional expense for annual registration under the Reform League Law would not exceed \$10,000; and it may be added that, with Mr. Pearce's modification mentioned above, \$4,500 additional would suffice. Surely, in a city which spends a quarter of a million a year for an alleged cleaning of its streets, this is no great sum to pay for clean elections.

The special purpose of all these misrepresentations was made manifest when, in the correspondence from Annapolis, hints began to be thrown out that the Committee on Elections was waiting for another draft from a practised hand. Mr. Poe, it appeared, not content with the modification of the Reform League Law which he had already submitted, was wielding his facile pen again, and the committee indulgently waited for the result of his labors. In due time it came to the light, and the committee granted a ready hearing to Messrs. Poe and Carter as advocates of the scheme which Mr. Poe, with a jaunty disregard of his pledges, which would be amusing if it were only in opera bouffe, had induced himself to recommend. Certainly, Mr. Poe's best friend cannot successfully contend that this scheme is either calculated to make the Reform League Law "more effective," or is a "better law" than that. In truth, it may be briefly described as a scheme to render the present system more effective for fraud, and that too at an increased expense to the City of Baltimore. Mr. Poe's device has taken the form of amendments to the existing election and registration laws, and we were assured by the same Annapolis correspondence of the delight with which the committee received a plan which consisted simply of amendments to the familiar and time-honored statutes of Maryland, thus rendering it unnecessary for them to "delve" among the statutes of other States. In contemplating this seductive scheme it is hard to say whether it is most to be wondered at for what it omits, for what it adds, or for what it retains. It is scarcely credible, but it is true, that the amendments to the title "Elections," which were first introduced in the Senate by Mr. Brown as chairman of the committee, utterly ignore the public demand for provision for what is entirely left out of our present law, that is to say, the proper and regular canvassing of the ballots and of the returns, and the safe custody

of the ballots. If the citizens of Maryland are not to have the "beneficial provisions" of the New York law, whereby, after the ballots have been carefully counted in the presence of discreet witnesses representing all parties, and quadruple returns thereof with specimens of the ballots have been placed in as many different hands, the remaining ballots are immediately burnt; they should at least be granted some enactment which will prevent the repetition of rapes of the ballot box which have already occurred repeatedly in Baltimore City, twice in Talbot, and at least once in Frederick. What earthly use is there in protecting a man in his right to cast his vote for one candidate, if, after it is cast, it may be burnt up, and another one for the opposing candidate put in its place? It appears from the newspapers that a bill subsequently introduced provides for the sealing of the ballot boxes, but we take leave to doubt whether this will be found entirely efficient. We must not, however, fail to call attention to the tender regard for election criminals which is shown in Mr. Brown's first bill. It borrows from the Dennis and other like bills certain sections relating to election crimes, but changes their grade from felony to misdemeanor, and permits a fine as an alternative penalty!

If the reports as to the Poe-Carter registration bills are correct, they propose, instead of precinct registration in the city, which is a *sine qua non* of a good system, to adhere to the present plan of registration by wards, increasing, however, the expenses, and adding sittings in May and June to those in September and October provided for by the law of 1882. One can easily see the convenience of this to the enterprising "rounder" who, under different names, desires to register in half a dozen different wards. It is one of the very best features of the New York law, that while, by precinct registration, ample opportunity is offered to every citizen to register once, the shortness of the time renders it extremely difficult, not to say perilous, to register more than once. But more extraordinary than all is Mr. Poe's proposition to retain the present registration books. On this point the *Sun* well says:

"When we remember the actual condition of our registration lists, containing, as in the nature of things they must, the names of persons of both parties either dead or disqualified as voters, and the reiterated statements that this defective registration has been the fruitful source of the election frauds charged upon the dominant party for years past, it really seems to require a pretty hard cheek to suggest an election law built upon such a foundation."

The fact is that the twelve or fifteen thousand names improperly on the registration books of this city constitute the banking capital, the stock in trade, or, perhaps more accurately, the circulating medium of the scoundrels who have made our elections a scandal and disgrace. We do not hesitate to say that no good or honest reason can be given for keeping them there, and leaving to good citizens the troublesome and expensive task of getting rid of them, one by one, and that too in the face of the more or less active opposition of the majority of the proposed ward registration boards, who will be partisan because they are salaried; for as things are now, salaried places go to partisans. With precinct officers receiving a *per diem*, the prizes will not be large enough to tempt the active political workers of either party, and we may confidently hope to see these places filled by the same excellent class of men of which our Grand Juries are at present composed. It appears from the synopsis of the registration bills reported on March 1 by Senator Brown, that some of the worst features of the Poe-Carter plan have

been rejected by the committee, but the same influences which caused them to be submitted to the Legislature will, we may be sure, work strenuously to have them substituted for the report of the committee.

THE PROSPECTS.

We have as yet seen no reason to change the opinion which we have heretofore expressed, that the majority of the members of the General Assembly feel the obligation which rests upon them as honest men to fulfil the pledges which they have made to their constituents. It is most encouraging that on February 28th the House of Delegates, with only seven negative votes, passed the resolution introduced by Mr. Robertson, describing the election law which should be passed by the House in the very words of the Democratic platform which we have quoted above. It would seem to be the necessary consequence of this action of the House that, in case its committee submits to it the congeries of bills which Mr. Brown has already introduced in the Senate, it will vote to substitute for them the Dennis bill, so carefully prepared by Mr. Pearce, the accredited representative of the Democratic party, and which, as he has shown, faithfully carries out the instructions of the party platform. We think that it, and the Senate likewise, will be wise in doing so. For without expressing a decided opinion against the Brown bills as a whole, which we should be slow to do in the absence of opportunity to examine them carefully, it is safe to say that it is in the highest degree unwise to attempt by legislation hastily framed amid the pressure of other legislative business, to construct the necessarily elaborate machinery of a registration and election law. The great advantage of the five bills of which the Dennis bill may be taken as a representative is that they have been constructed on a consistent plan. More than all, they are based on statutes which have been brought to the test of actual experience not only in New York, where the new system had its origin, but, with more or less change of detail, in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Delaware. Everywhere that the plan has been tried it has proved efficient and satisfactory. If the county members honestly think that registration every eight years, or at every alternate presidential election, is sufficient for their needs, they are of course entitled to vote accordingly. But that they now need a new registration, and that they need the new provisions of the Dennis bill as to the conduct of elections and the canvass, and as to election crimes, is we think clear beyond dispute.

But time presses. Not thirty days of the session remain, and each house owes it to itself, as we humbly suggest, to drag this subject from the seclusion of the committee chamber and proceed from day to day to its consideration until it is complete. It is not for us to lift up the voice of warning as to the reckoning which the members of the Assembly will have to make with their constituents in case they shall fail to gratify the public demand. In such a matter as this, personal interest may be relied upon as a stimulus; for, as the wise man says, "a man's mind is sometime wont to tell him more than seven watchmen that sit above in an high tower." But it is our right and duty, in the interest of that good faith which is the bond and stay of all social order, to lay the most urgent stress upon the importance of keeping, even with punctilious care, the solemn pledges which have been made on this subject by every man who sits in the General Assembly of 1888.

THE INDEPENDENTS AND THE PRESIDENCY.

REFORMERS in Maryland have reason to find their home affairs sufficiently engrossing just now, but the letter from Mr. Lucius B. Swift, which we publish elsewhere, deserves a word of comment. Its author needs no introduction to our readers; an uncompromising foe to shams and abuses of every kind, he has earned the hearty hatred alike of open enemies and false friends of good government, and made himself especially obnoxious to some who have tried to cheat their consciences into acquiescence in the Administration's shortcomings by labored explanations which they knew could be accepted only through sheer self-deception. Mr. Swift and the little band of resolute men who recognize him as their chief have exposed as boldly and thoroughly Mr. Cleveland's misuse of Federal patronage in Indiana as they have exposed the startling scandals arising from a partisan administration of their State Insane Asylum, and they share with the Maryland Independents the privilege of being cordially disliked by a class of writers and speakers who advocate reform by uniformly singing the President's praises with their eyes shut tight and their ears stuffed with cotton lest they may see or hear what makes their commendation ridiculous. We are always glad to publish what such a man has to say, especially when, as now, public opinion is gradually developing currents which may determine the result of the next Presidential contest.

Nevertheless, we hardly feel justified in indicating, as requested, "what Republican would nearest meet the approval of a reformer of the Maryland stamp" as a candidate for the Presidency, partly because to do so, however guardedly, would inevitably *look like* advocacy, but mainly because we believe there is no sufficient *consensus* of judgment among Maryland Reformers to make it possible to express any opinion on the subject. Given that the Democrats nominate Cleveland (which we regard as probable, but not certain) and that the Republicans do not nominate Blaine (as to which we are glad that Mr. Swift is so confident), we anticipate no combined action among those entitled to be called reformers, and much diversity of individual opinion among them. Reformers, although to deserve the name they must prefer good government to their party, may consistently, and indeed will usually be party men, and it is but natural for party men, however honest and patriotic, to hope, and therefore think, that good government will be most surely promoted by the success of their own party. We know of no candidate likely to be nominated at Chicago who would draw Democratic votes from Cleveland in Maryland, and none, except Blaine, against whom any Maryland Republicans would vote in his favor. The truth is that the character of our public men has been so lowered by three generations of "spoils" politics that the assortment of candidates having any chance of election, or even of nomination, is singularly unpromising, and to the great bulk of Reformers presents little more than a choice of evils. In such a situation, party ties will exert an influence generally predominant, and we have little doubt that, with Cleveland in the field and Blaine out of it, the contest in Maryland will be a "straight-out" party fight and no more.

But this election will not be decided in Maryland. We find no reason to change the opinion we expressed nearly a year ago that its outcome will depend upon the course taken by those Republican voters who in a few closely contested States, and especially in New York, turned the scale against Blaine. If the Independent Republicans again support Cleveland as they did then, we regard his election as virtually assured; if they are hostile, divided or indifferent, the result is by no means certain. In this connection the letter of Mr. Swift, and that we published last September from "An Independent Republican," have a serious significance. Whatever may be said in justification or palliation of the President's course in Maryland and Indiana, no one, with knowledge of the facts, can dispute that it has abounded in incidents calculated to dampen the enthusiasm and divert the sympathies of Reformers everywhere, and that "lay sermons" (to quote from our September correspondent) preached on the texts it

would furnish by those entitled to speak with authority might well prove decisive in such States as New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Indiana. These two letters show that the "preachers" may not be wanting, provided always that the Republicans do not shut them out from this ministry by insisting on Blaine. They indicate what might have been readily surmised, that Mr. Cleveland's failure to fulfil their hopes has aroused in some of his former supporters here and in Indiana a resentment all the more bitter and lasting that this failure has been accompanied by professions of sympathy with the cause they have at heart, and that many of their fellow-workers elsewhere seem disposed to judge him by these professions rather than by his acts. Three years of chronic irritation towards the President have made some of them ready, even on the stump, to show how far the performance of the Administration has fallen short, in Maryland and Indiana at least, at once of their previous expectations and their understanding of the President's promises. We are not prepared to say we approve this frame of mind, but its existence is a feature of the situation of no trifling import.

THE SCHOOL BOARD.

NOTHING could show more plainly the necessity for a change in the mode of selecting the School Board than the result of the election in the joint convention of the City Council to fill the places of the members whose terms had expired. Under the present law, Commissioners are elected for four years, five going out each year. This year the terms of Messrs. Wentz, Schott, Poe, Connolly, and Durdin expired. Messrs. Wentz and Durdin were returned, and new men elected to fill the places of the others named. The friends of civil service reform can see nothing cheering in this result. Mr. Wentz has been a persistent opponent of every measure introduced into the Board looking to the appointment of teachers upon the merit system entirely, and has favored the continuance of the ward political influence which has always been potent in their selection and still is so. He has been the defender of the "annual election" which practically places the security of the teachers' positions in the hands of a local committee of two members of the Board. He has been the recognized leader of the opposition which has always succeeded in defeating every effort which has been made to cast away this rod which can be held in *terrorem* over teachers in the schools to destroy their independence and make them more anxious to retain the favor of the "committee" than to perform their work faithfully and impartially. Possessing many qualifications for the position, himself having been a teacher in the schools, and having much practical knowledge in reference to school matters, there is no man in the city who is capable of doing better service than he. Professing great admiration for the school system of Germany especially, he still raises his voice on every occasion against all propositions to engraft upon our plan of public education features without which the system in Germany and other European countries could never have attained its high degree of excellence. Judging him by his past record, there is little expectation of aid from him in the upraising of our schools from the slough of ward politics in which they now lie.

Dr. Connolly and Mr. Schott were both gentlemen who, we are informed, discharged with fidelity the duties devolved upon them by the law and the rules of the Board. They were also, however, opponents, like Mr. Wentz, of those amendments to the system which are essential to its elevation and improvement. The friends of the schools can only regret the retirement of Mr. Poe. He has been a member of the Board for sixteen years, and his course upon all questions looking to the total relief of the public schools from the baleful influence of local politics has been in accordance with the views of those who think, unlike Mr. Poe, that the pressing need in American politics is the extension of this relief to all branches of the public service.

It has been necessary for us from time to time to criticise Mr. Poe's actions and speeches as a politician, but we have always given him the credit which he deserves for honest

devotion to the cause of public education and consistent effort to place that, at least, upon a plane above party politics. We sincerely regret, therefore, to see him removed from a position in which, according to our views, he was rendering the State and city efficient service.

How it came about that he, a regular of the regulars and a conspicuous defender of that organization, should thus be sacrificed by a City Council in which the regulars have a large majority, and sacrificed for a Republican, is one of those things which the public can only guess at, and which only what the revivalists call a "testimony meeting" of the members of the Council could reveal. Enough is apparent, however, to show that Mr. Poe was offered up as a victim by members of his own party in order that these might save some other member of his party in whom they were more particularly interested. The privilege of naming the School Commissioner for the ward has generally been conceded to the representative of the ward in the First Branch of the City Council. There have been exceptions to this, however, a notable one being when what has been called the "Sixteen Combination" elected Commissioners two years ago.

This year it appears that the representative of the Third Ward in the First Branch was opposed to the re-election of Mr. Wentz and nominated another gentleman for the place. Mr. Wentz was placed in nomination by the representative of the Third and Fourth Wards in the Second Branch. The fight, it is understood, was warm and even bitter. There was also a struggle in the Fourteenth Ward. Its representative in the First Branch, although a Republican, nominated a Democrat, Dr. Bosley, who was also supported by the Democratic member of the Second Branch from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Wards. This selection was not acceptable to the other Democratic faction in the ward which had its candidate for the place. The Eleventh Ward, in which Mr. Poe lives, is represented by Republicans in both Branches, and Mr. McIntire, of the First Branch, insisted strongly on his right, according to custom, to name the Commissioner, and in this demand was backed up, we understand, by the entire Republican vote in the two Branches, numbering eleven. It required fifteen votes to elect, and if all the Republicans voted for Mr. McIntire's nominee he still must have received four votes from his political opponents and Mr. Poe's political friends in order to be elected. These four votes he obtained, but from what source cannot certainly be known.

But the mere statement of the case is sufficient to justify the position assumed at the beginning of this article, that there should be a change in the mode by which the School Board is appointed. Here is a struggle among local political factions for the vacancies in the School Board, which has effected the sacrifice, through log-rolling by members of his own party, of the man who, by reason of a long experience and excellent record in the School Board, is the one of all others who should have been retained.

There has never in the history of politics in this country been as explicit a political enunciation as that made by the late Republican State Convention in favor of civil service reform. The platform of the convention declared, not only that the reform should be continued and extended in all the departments of the Federal Government, but should also be engrafted upon our State and municipal service. It is not encouraging to the friends of reform to see how easily, promptly, and with what unanimity the Republican members of the Council have proved false to the principles upon which they were elected. The representative of the Eleventh Ward insisted that he should be accorded a privilege consistent only with the spoils system, and used it to put out of the School Board a citizen who for many years had, without remuneration, in that Board rendered the city faithful, intelligent, and efficient service. In this palpable violation of the platform of his party Mr. McIntire was sustained by every other Republican member of the Council.

More than all this, Mr. O. B. Zantziger, the gentleman thus elected by trading Republicans and Democrats, however good that gentleman's character may be, of which we know nothing, is an employe of the firm in this city of J. W.

Bond & Co., engaged largely in the school book trade, and annually a competitor for the contract to furnish the schools with books and stationery. It goes without saying, therefore, that this selection is one which, upon every principle of public morals, is entirely unfit to be made and calls for vigorous condemnation on all hands.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. JAMES A. PEARCE ON THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLEDGES.

CHESTERTOWN, MD., February 27, 1888.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER :

Sir :—I understand your paper to be upon general issues neither distinctively Democratic nor Republican, but that its primary purpose is to promote the cause of Civil Service Reform, with which I am not at present concerned. I further understand, subject to correction if need be, that you claim to represent Reform Democracy rather than Reform Republicanism, and I therefore do not hesitate to accept your columns as a legitimate medium of communication with the public by one who claims, and believes himself entitled to claim, to be a Democrat in good party standing.

You, as public journalists—if I may apply to you your own recent language in reference to a contemporary—"have with persistent energy demanded that the Democratic party and its leaders should redeem their pledges to purify the suffrage," and in doing so you have discharged a plain duty. To my mind a reciprocal duty rests upon private citizens, and especially upon sincere and devoted members of the Democratic party, to sustain by precept and example all efforts to keep the party true to its promise. In such a time "private people are justified in stepping a little out of their ordinary sphere" and in exercising "a privilege of somewhat more dignity and effect than that of idle lamentation." Nor should they be deterred from this course by the apprehension that "if they should be obliged to censure those in power they will be looked on as instruments of faction," for "in all exertions of duty something is to be hazarded."

The report submitted on the 25th inst. by the Senate Committee on Elections has realized for a very large part of the Democratic party of the State the grievous disappointment which, notwithstanding the deservedly high character of the committee, has been predicted and feared. This report is not a hasty or inconsidered utterance, but the deliberate outcome of fifty days' consideration—more than half the life of the Legislative Assembly—and there seems to be small reason to hope that either house will prove wiser or stronger than the Senate Committee has shown itself to be, though the House of Delegates has the opportunity, in its action upon Mr. Robertson's resolution, that no bill be passed which does not embrace the provisions of the Tilden act and provide for annual registration in large cities.

This is not a matter of taste or preference. It is not even a matter of party policy for untrammelled discussion. It is a naked question of performance of contract between competent parties, based upon solemn and high consideration. The Republican State Convention met in Baltimore August 24th, and after enumerating in its platform certain alleged essentials for fair popular elections, specifically pledged the Republican party and its nominees "to use its and their best efforts to have the next General Assembly, before it considers any other legislative business, enact the Reform League Law." How far this promise would have been performed it is idle to speculate, since the Republican party was not entrusted with the power it sought; but it sufficed to draw to the support of that party in that campaign a large element of the Democratic party in the City of Baltimore, and to excite the strongest apprehensions in the Democratic party throughout the State of the success of the Republicans. Under the stimulus of this apprehension, and I believe also in large part in thorough good faith, the Democratic State Convention which assembled on the 26th of September, in language equally specific for its purpose, pledged that it "would earnestly endeavor at the coming session of the General Assembly to have placed upon the statute books an election law which will embrace not only all the beneficial provisions of the Tilden act, but will embody also all

those additional safeguards to guarantee the purity of elections which experience has taught should be incorporated into it," and it appointed five Democrats to prepare and submit such an act to the Legislature for its action.

It further specifically "engaged, in a revision of the constitution, to use its best efforts to have incorporated a system of annual registration of voters in cities whose inhabitants number ten thousand and upwards."

Upon these assurances the two parties went before the people, and the Democratic speakers everywhere repeated and emphasized the pledges made by the convention, without which, the most sanguine Democrat must acknowledge, the result would have been doubtful. The people of the State, Democratic at heart to the core, accepted these pledges of the Democracy, renewed their political power by a decided vote, and now demand the fulfillment of the contract. Neither argument nor amplification is necessary in the discussion of the situation—and "the previous question" alone is in order. Whatever the three bills as reported from the committee may contain, and from whatever sources their provisions are drawn, they do not contain, if correctly summarized in the daily press, a provision for annual registration in large cities, nor for any new registration in the counties, both of which are corner stones in the Tilden act.

Baltimore City is to have biennial registration; but Cumberland, Hagerstown, Frederick City—all of which I believe, and possibly Annapolis also, have upwards of ten thousand inhabitants—are classed with the counties, and instead of having annual, or even biennial registration, are to have annual revision only as heretofore, and there is to be no precinct registration in Baltimore.

Under a biennial and ward system of registration in a city so large as Baltimore it is not possible to exclude professional repeaters, the great source of pollution to the ballot box at the present day; and even if they should be measurably diminished in Baltimore, the system proposed for the State elsewhere invites the transfer of their occupation to the counties, especially to those contiguous to Baltimore. The coupling of biennial registration for Baltimore with revision only in the counties concedes the failure of the constitutional objections for want of uniformity which were so promptly disposed of by the Attorney General when requested to give his opinion thereon; and Mr. Packard, in a recent communication to the *Sun*, has effectually disposed of the objection of expense in the counties under quadrennial registration, even if the cost of performance of a contract could be decently pleaded in bar. It is difficult to conceive what plausible excuse can be alleged for the failure to redeem the party pledges; and when such veteran Democrats and high officials as Attorney General Whyte and Hon. Stevenson Archer, chairman of the State Central Committee, unite in remonstrating with members of the Legislature against their repudiation, the gravity of the situation cannot be misunderstood or ignored. Unfortunately, there can be no tribunal for the specific performance of this contract. The issue raised by its breach can only be tried at the ballot box, under the guidance of public opinion, where the damages awarded upon adverse judgment will be the loss of the State to the Democratic party and its surrender to the rule of principles which I, with thousands of others, believe to be radically false and vicious.

In considering the folly which makes possible such a result, one can but recall the ancient maxim, "Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat," though he may hope, as I do, that somehow returning reason may avert the catastrophe in this instance.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES A. PEARCE.

THE INDEPENDENTS AND THE PRESIDENCY.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., February 15, 1888.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER :

Sir :—I doubt if the contest which is led by THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has a closer watcher than myself. And I take pleasure in congratulating you that while our New York independent papers seem to have completely lost their heads, THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER has held steadily on the course it marked out.

I was formerly a Republican, and am now a Mugwump who cares nothing for the Republican party. I am theoretically a free trader, that is I am opposed to the principle of protection and believe the country would have been better off if we had never had any protec-

tion. But with the present condition of things in view I am at present practically a tariff reformer.

All this is of no importance except to enable me to say that I do not comprehend how any Mugwump who voted for Cleveland can fall to utter silence on the subject of his management of the federal civil service, and now talk as though the tariff were the only public question of importance. Or, if they do talk of the civil service, it is to give its management a lying commendation. By "they" I mean leading Eastern reformers.

I was the most earnest advocate of the election of Cleveland on reform grounds that there was in Indiana. And after his election, Indiana reformers never asked him to do anything but keep reasonably his promises. I explained away and excused for him until excuses ceased to be truthful. Considering his promises, his failure in the management of the civil service has been total and complete. Considering his opportunities, this failure has been disgraceful and criminal. And now he passes this by in silence and proceeds to hide it by raising a dust about the tariff. That is a question we will settle when choosing our Congressmen. In the meantime, Blaine takes himself out of the way and Cleveland cannot escape. I feel that the account ought to be taken with him, and that every successor of his should have his example to show that a President cannot trifle with reformers or with promises of reform. This amounts to saying that for myself I do not see how I can vote for the re-election of Cleveland. I should like to see the Republicans nominate the right kind of a man; and as I respect your judgment, I should like your opinion as to what Republican would nearest meet the approval of reformers of the Maryland stamp—and this whether you would support such a man or not.

Expressing again my thorough admiration of the skill and backbone of Maryland Reformers, I am truly yours,

LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

MR. JAMES A. PEARCE ON THE PLEDGES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

MR. JAMES ALFRED PEARCE, of Kent County, Maryland, a member of the committee appointed by the Democratic State Convention to draft an election law, wrote a letter to the *Baltimore Sun* of February 15th, in the course of which he said:

"The main features of the bill which your dispatches indicate will be reported are: First, a single registration officer for each district in the counties, thus avoiding minority representation; second, election commissioners for the counties, to be appointed by the Governor, instead of by the County Commissioners, thus throwing their appointment into the hands of the practical politicians, who must inevitably exercise great influence with the Governor, and ignoring the cardinal Democratic principle of home rule; third, the appointment of three registers for each ward in the city of Baltimore instead of each precinct, the effect, if not the purpose, of which requires no comment; fourth, a new registration every four years in the city of Baltimore, and every eight or ten years in the counties, commencing in 1889. Now, how will such a bill redeem the party pledges?"

"The Democratic Convention specifically pledged the Democratic party to enact an election law 'which should contain all the beneficial provisions of the Tilden act, with such additional safeguards as experience should suggest.' Certainly no one who has carefully examined the New York election law, commonly called the Tilden act, will say that the proposed law contains 'all its beneficial provisions,' still less that it contains any 'additional safeguards.'

"The vital features of the Tilden act are: First, minority representation throughout every step of registration and voting; second, an effective veto upon the appointment of any judge or clerk of election thought by any Commissioner to be an improper selection; third, annual registration in all large cities, and frequent registration everywhere; fourth, thorough provision, as far as possible, for the free and unbought casting of all ballots; fifth, an elaborate system of counting and returning the vote cast, to guard against the suppression of the true voice of the people.

"There are now before the Legislature five election bills,

all emanating from sources of the highest respectability, and all based upon and embodying the substance of the Tilden act, and of the Illinois act, which is later, but of the same spirit and purpose. These bills are: First, the Reform League law, presented to the Legislature in 1886 and revised and again presented by a Democratic representative from Baltimore city; second, the Whyte law, submitted by Attorney-General Whyte, the constitutional legal adviser of the General Assembly; third, the Poe law, submitted by Mr. John P. Poe, the official codifier of the laws of the State, with express authority from the Legislature to propose amendments to existing laws; fourth, the Joyce law, submitted by Mr. Martin R. Joyce, a member of the House of Delegates, and reputed in this matter to represent the views of the Crescent Club—a very large and influential political organization in this State; fifth, the bill prepared in behalf of the committee appointed for that purpose by the Democratic State Convention and submitted by direction of that committee, though without committal to all its features of any other member than the draughtsman of the bill.

"Each of these bills distinctly adopts the Reform League law as its basis, and re-affirms, with more or less change of detail, its substance as the reproduction, in a shape adapted to our own State, of the vital principles and 'beneficial provisions' of the Tilden act.

"Now, all this concurrence of opinion as to the form and spirit of the proposed law cannot be without reason and significance, and must go very far to assure all who will consider that there is genuine merit in the system thus recommended, and that genuine popular approval of it already exists. I recognize fully both the right and duty of courageous and independent thought and action by members of the Legislature.

"Theirs is the responsibility and theirs is the right to determine how it shall be met; but before they reject the conclusions of their party associates, reached with such singular unanimity, they should be prepared to give the best of reasons for their dissent.

"The present Legislature has been pronounced by competent judges to be an assemblage of high character and of more than average capacity. I know that the election committees are made up of gentlemen of the highest character, who must challenge the respect of men of all parties and shades of political thought; and until they themselves shall furnish evidence to the contrary, I shall continue to believe that their legislation in this matter will be shaped primarily for the good of the commonwealth, and only afterwards in the interest of party power, in strict accord with the duty and privilege of lawmakers."

MR. JOSEPH PACKARD, JR., ON THE COST OF A NEW ELECTION LAW.

MR. JOSEPH PACKARD, JR., writes to the *Baltimore Sun* of February 23d as follows:

"The statement has been made that the members of the Legislature from the counties will hesitate to adopt the Reform League election bill, or any of the new election bills brought before the Legislature by Mr. Denny, Mr. Joyce, or Senator Dennis, on account of the great additional expense to the counties which would be involved. That this notion is unfounded is very easily shown. Take, for instance, Washington County. The proper method of comparison will be by periods of four years, inasmuch as the bills mentioned all contemplate quadrennial registration with annual revisions. The cost of elections in Washington County for the year ended June 10, 1887, was as follows:

Judges, clerks and rent	\$1,050.50
Registers (23 precincts)	1,467.40
Total	\$2,517.90

Assuming this to be the average, the cost for four years would be \$10,071.60. The expense under the Reform League Law would be as follows: The number of days of service in the four years would be nineteen; the pay would be \$15 a day for each precinct, being \$3 apiece to five men,

and the number of precincts would be twenty-three, as before, which, under the new law, would be quite sufficient for the 9500 registered voters of the county.

Now, 19x15x23 gives.....\$6,555.00
Add salaries of election commissioners and clerk at an average of \$125 per annum each, the maximum being \$150.....2,000.00
Add rent, estimated at \$15 per annum per precinct.....1,380.00

\$9,935.00

If the suggestion of Mr. Pearce, in the Dennis bill, is adopted, namely, to dispense with the services of the clerks during the registration, the above item of \$6,555 would be reduced to the extent of two clerks at \$3 per day for 15 days 2,070.00

So that the total four years' amount would be.....\$7,865.00 as against \$10,071.60 by the present system.

In neither of these calculations is any account taken of the cost of printing, stationery and advertising, as the data are not accessible, being grouped with other charges of the same character in the annual statement of the county expenses. It is supposed that these items would cost a little more under the new system than under the old. The glass ballot boxes would cost about eighty cents each, but after they were once bought the annual charge for breakage, etc., would be little or nothing.

Baltimore County has thirty-six precincts, and calculating its expenses on the above basis in the proportion of 23 to 36, the cost under the new system, taking the more expensive plan, would be, omitting fractions, \$15,550, or on the plan suggested by Mr. Pearce, \$12,310. Now, under the present plan, as appears from the annual statement published in the *Maryland Journal* for the year 1887, the cost was:

Judges, clerks and rent.....\$1,760.80
Registers.....2,084.77

\$3,845.57

The aggregate of which for four years would be \$15,382.28.

PROMOTIONS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

HON. SILAS W. BURT, Naval Officer at the port of New York, made the following statement in the *New York Times* recently:

"There is in the civil service, however constituted, a general tendency on the part of each employee to confine his interest to the special work he is engaged in. This work he may do well or even become very expert in, though in men of a certain temperament there is a proclivity to a perfunctory discharge of duty when long continued in the same line. But whether the special work be intelligently or mechanically performed, the restriction of attention and information to that alone is in many ways injurious to the general service. The vast advantages to the public interests of a reasonably stable and trained service are so great that no endeavor should be spared to prevent the tendencies above mentioned, and to stimulate so far as possible the interest and emulation of the employees in the whole scope of work transacted in the office where they are employed, and so to counteract that disposition to what has been termed 'dry rot,' which is the only material objection brought against a permanent service.

"The rule that admission to the service shall be at the lowest grade, and that vacancies above that grade shall be filled by promotions, is founded upon the sound principle that such positions are best filled by trained men, and that the opportunity for advancement through merit is the best stimulant to a satisfactory discharge of duty in the places occupied. Under such a sound civil service rule in regard to promotions there is a certain safeguard against the apathetic tendency that has been mentioned. But promotion examinations may be infrequent through lack of vacancies, or held at such irregular periods as not to exert a uniform influence. There also may be in a large office some difficulty on the part of the employees in ascertaining the main subjects in which they should become proficient in order to be fit for promotion or to best discharge their duties in the

positions held by them. The latter consideration is generally ignored, but it is a safe and universal rule that no matter how special and limited a clerk's own duty in an office may be, he is better fitted for its intelligent discharge by every acquisition of knowledge concerning the general business of the office.

"A marked instance of the drift toward dry rot was recently exhibited in the examinations for promotion in the office of the Collector of Customs at this port, when many persons who had rendered more or less faithful service for many years without change in their duties were found to be absolutely ignorant of any other part of the customs business, though in many instances they were men of fair intelligence.

"I had long recognized," remarked Col. Burt, "the need of some preventive to such a condition. These instances induced me to consider if one could not be devised for use in my own office. The outcome was the promulgation of the following circular:

NOTICE.

Notice is hereby given to all persons employed in this office, and aspiring to promotion therein, that after this date there will be presented to them from time to time certain questions to be answered and certain themes to be treated by them, all of which will relate to the customs laws, regulations, and administration. This is not to be considered a part of the regular work of the office, but is entirely voluntary and optional, and is designed not only as a measure of the intelligence of the several clerks, but also to direct them to those subjects a knowledge of which will make them more valuable in the service, and which may have been neglected by them, inadvertently or otherwise. The papers prepared in this way will not form a part of any regular civil service examination, being intended solely to acquaint the Naval Officer with the zeal, perception, and improvement of all those in his office who desire to rise in the service.

The following subjects are now presented to all who may desire to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered:

First—What is the manifest of a vessel; what does it contain; from what elements is it prepared? What use is made of the manifest in the customs procedure, giving the sections of the statutes that refer to it?

Second—What is a bill of lading, and what is its commercial value? How is it used in the customs procedure?

Third—Define fully an invoice of merchandise apart from its use in the customs. What is its value in the assessment of customs duties, and what are the statutory requirements in that regard? Wherein is an invoice of consigned goods less trustworthy as a measure of market value than an invoice of purchased goods? Give all the uses of an invoice in customs procedure.

The above subjects should not occupy more than six pages of foolscap paper, and there should be no *verbatim* copying except in quotations from the statutes, and these should be brief. The handwriting should be legible, but interlineations and corrections may be made in the text so far as consistent with clearness. The Auditor will furnish paper and envelopes for this purpose upon application to him.

When completed, each one's contribution will be inclosed in a sealed envelope addressed to the Naval Officer and delivered to Special Deputy Comstock, who will receive them until the close of business hours on November 5 next, and not afterward.

By order of the Naval Officer,
THEODORE BABCOCK, JR., *Secretary*.

NAVAL OFFICE, NEW YORK, October 11, 1887.

"The three documents given as the subjects for treatment are, together with the entry, the most important in the administration of the customs laws. There were 54 responses, of which 43 were from clerks admitted to the Naval Office under civil service rules. The papers submitted were, as a whole, astonishing in the complete and accurate answers given to the several queries. Some of the best of these papers were by young men recently admitted to the service, and indicated a thorough research of the statutes, Treasury regulations, and of the judicial decisions on the several subjects. Some of the papers were also admirable in their literary style.

"My purpose," said the Naval Officer, "was not only satisfactorily carried out, but the papers possessed such extraordinary merit that Special Deputy Comstock has been able to prepare a general digest of them, giving such full and clear definitions of the three important documents as will be of great value to all interested in them. The educational value of such a stimulant to study has already been manifested in the office, and a new series of subjects will soon be submitted to the clerks for their inquiry and treatment, and will include the practical abridgement of the many mathe-

matical processes necessary in the calculation of customs duties."

The Naval Officer expects to receive from Washington in a few days the printed forms for keeping daily records of the attendance, efficiency, and conduct of every employee.

ANNUAL REGISTRATION NECESSARY.

[From the Report of the Committee on Elections of the Baltimore Reform League.]

THE only mode of securing fair registration lists is by an annual registration. This conclusion rests upon the following facts:

Each year about 12,000 registered voters die or remove from their respective precincts. Under ordinary circumstances not more than 6000 are annually stricken off or transferred from their precincts.

Of the nearly 80,000 names on the registration lists at the beginning of registration in 1886, about 30,000 were improperly registered, either because not entitled to registration at all, or because their proper place of registration was not in the precinct.

Each registrar should therefore have struck off or transferred from the ward about 1500 people, and have registered newly in the ward about 1250. In point of fact it would be physically impossible for any registrar to make the inquiry which he is bound by law and justice to make as to such a number of names, even if he were zealous and conscientious. If we had a new registration and good registrars, it would not be possible to keep the lists even approximately accurate. Only exceptionally capable and honest registrars can keep the present law from becoming an aid to fraud. That in point of fact the men appointed registrars have been in almost all cases bitter and prejudiced partisans. In very few cases have they had any clear understanding of the meaning of the law the administration of which is committed to their hands. Most of them have habitually violated some of its clearest provisions. In a number of cases they have been engaged in deliberate fraud. Many, and perhaps the majority, of them have been criminally negligent. A considerable number of them have been ignorant to a degree which would properly be called absurd if the importance of the work entrusted to them did not make the adjective *shameful* a still more appropriate one.

Let us now state a little more at length the conclusions at which we have arrived.

THE INCREASE OF POPULATION.

In a year about 12,000 registered voters die or remove from precinct of registration. For fifty years past the annual rate of growth in Baltimore has been remarkably steady. In the decade from 1840 to 1850 the increase in population was at the rate of 25.80 per cent.; between 1850 and 1860, 25.65 per cent.; between 1860 and 1870, 25.86 per cent., and between 1870 and 1880, 24.29 per cent. The decennial rate of increase, then, for forty years has varied only from 24.29 per cent. to 25.86 per cent., or but little more than one and a half per cent. The average rate of increase for each of the decades has been 25.40 per cent. The population of Baltimore in 1880 was 332,313. The annual gain in population is therefore, at the present time, probably about 8400. According to the census of 1880, the males over twenty-one constituted 25.98 per cent. of the entire population.

In an old city of such stable rate of growth as Baltimore has, this proportion is not at all likely to vary appreciably. It is therefore safe to conclude that the number of males over twenty-one increases at the rate of about 2182* per year. It would be, perhaps, within bounds to assume that at any particular time at least one adult male in twelve in a large city is not entitled to be registered, because he is an unnaturalized foreigner; because he has come from another State or from the counties so recently that he is not yet entitled under the terms of the State Constitution to register; or because

* In this and other similar cases the figures given are of course only approximate estimates. The only reason why round numbers are not used is because it has been thought that the calculations will be more easily followed if their precise results are stated.

he is of unsound mind or is a convict. Making a deduction of one-twelfth from the annual increase of adult males, there remains an annual increase of qualified voters of about 2000. This is of course a net, not a gross increase. It does not represent all the persons who yearly for the first time become entitled to be registered and vote in this city, but the number by which those who for the first time became qualified to vote exceed those who have lost the qualification during the year. Although it is possible to determine with reasonable accuracy the amount by which one of these numbers exceeds the other, it is not possible to come as near the numbers themselves. The margin for guessing may, however, be limited by the approximate settlement of certain factors which enter into the problem.

NUMBERS OF PERSONS ANNUALLY GAINING AND ANNUALLY LOSING RIGHT TO VOTE.

From the table of ages contained in the census of 1880, it appears that the number of young men coming of age annually in Baltimore is about 3700. From an examination and analysis of the mortality statistics published by the Health Department of Baltimore, it is estimated that the average annual number of deaths among the adult males is about 1900.

An examination of the records of the courts of the city shows that the naturalization of foreigners in this city has averaged, for the last four years, 625 a year. One-half of all the naturalizations, however, are those of persons who have come to this country minors, and who are included in the number of those coming annually of age. If one-half of the naturalizations be added to the number of those coming of age annually, the total will be 4010, which will be the number of those who yearly gain the right to vote, provided they have had the term of residence in the State and city required by the Constitution of the State. Deducting, as has been done in reference to the other factors of the problem, one-twelfth for those who have not had such residence, or who are otherwise disqualified, the remainder, 3676, will be the number of the persons becoming for the first time entitled to vote. The deaths among the adult males, estimated at 1900, should be reduced one-twelfth to get at the deaths of qualified voters; the remainder, 1742, will be the number of deaths among them. The difference between the deaths of qualified voters and the gain of voters by young men coming of age and from foreigners for the first time naturalized will represent the net gain from all sources, save from immigration of adult males from other parts of this State and from other States. This difference is 1934. It has already been shown that the gain from all sources was about 2000 per year. Practically, then, the number of qualified voters who go to other States and to other parts of Maryland from this city almost equals the number who come to it from those places. When it is remembered how large a proportion of the men who come into a large city from the country do so before they reach 21 years of age, and also the large annual exodus there is of adult males to the "Belt," there will be nothing surprising in this. There is no way of getting at the amount of this immigration and emigration. It will probably be safe to say that it does not fall short of 2500; deducting one-twelfth from this, the remainder, 2200, is the extent of this immigration and emigration among qualified voters. The deaths and immigration of qualified voters may then be put at nearly 4000 per year, and the number of persons annually becoming qualified voters at 6000. It will be proven in another connection that the annual total of deaths and removals from the precincts is about 12,000. The work the registrars should annually do may then be roughly estimated as follows: Register newly, 6000; transfer to, 8000; strike off, 4000; transfer from, 8000.

NUMBER OF NAMES ACTUALLY STRICKEN OFF.

Experience proves that under ordinary circumstances not more than 6000 names are annually stricken off.

From a minute investigation of the registration books of the Fourth, Sixth, Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Eighteenth Wards, made after the close of registration in 1885, it appears that the total number of persons who had been regis-

tered in those wards since the beginning of registration was 30,377, an average of 5063 to a ward. If a like average existed in the remaining fourteen wards, the total number of persons registered in the city from the beginning of registration in 1882 to the close of registration in 1885 would have been 101,260. The registration in the wards investigated was, however, greater by perhaps 200 per ward than it was in the other wards. It is therefore probable that the gross total of registration to the end of 1885 was in the neighborhood of 98,000. At the close of registration in 1885, there were on the lists the names of about 79,500 persons. The total number of persons stricken off and "transferred from" the various wards from the beginning of registration in 1882 to the close of registration in 1885 was therefore 18,500. A few of these, say the odd 500, were stricken off or transferred in the October and September sittings of 1882, registration that year having begun on the first Monday of June. The remaining 18,000 were stricken off or transferred in the years 1883, 1884 and 1885. The yearly average is thus established at about 6000.

NUMBER WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN STRICKEN OFF
IN 1886.

In 1886 the number of names which ought to have been stricken off or transferred was upwards of 30,000.

Of the 27,316 persons investigated, only 6497 were in the precinct in which they were registered. It is possible that in a few of these cases in which no information was obtained, the persons sought after were still living at their registered addresses, and others at other addresses in the same precinct; but these would have been very few indeed, as there would have been no difficulty in the vast majority of cases in finding that a particular man lived at the house at which search was being made for him.

Most of the cases returned without information were those in which the houses were vacant, or in which the persons then resident refused information, because they feared their being summoned to the Registration Office to give testimony as to the removal of the person registered. We are safe, therefore, in assuming that of the 1201 cases as to which no information was returned, not more than 10 per cent., or 120, were still living at their registered address, and probably not more than another 10 per cent. in the same precinct. Of the 27,316 investigated, then, not more than 6737, or 22.79 per cent, were still living in the precinct in which they were registered.

The same proportion would doubtless hold good in the 3336 cases not investigated, in which case about 822 of them would have been found in the precinct in which they were registered. Of the total 30,652, then, about 7559 were still in the precinct of registration, and 23,093 were dead or had removed from the precinct.

According to the plan followed, persons living at their registered address at the time the canvass was made for the Directory of 1886 were not investigated, and therefore the

deaths and removals among them were not recorded. There is a way of determining approximately, however, the probable number of such deaths and removals.

As has been previously stated, the minute investigation of the registration books of the Fourth, Sixth, Tenth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Eighteenth Wards made after the close of registration in 1885 showed that the total number of persons stricken off and "transferred from" up to that time was about 18,500. It therefore follows that the gross number of deaths and removals among the persons registered from the beginning of registration in 1882 to its close in 1885 was as below:

Number of persons stricken off and transferred.....	18,500
Number of deaths and removals among those marked for investigation.....	23,093
Total deaths and removals in three years and six months, from June 1, 1882, to December 1, 1885...	41,593

The yearly average of deaths and removals from the precinct of registration during the entire period was therefore about 11,884. From the first of December, 1885, about the average period at which the information for the Directory of 1886 was procured, to the close of registration in early October, 1886, was about ten months. The number of deaths and removals from the precinct of registration in this period, at the yearly average, would have been 9808. This number, added to the 23,093 deaths and removals among the cases investigated, would give as the totals of the deaths and removals among the registered voters, down to the close of registration in 1886, 33,608. Among these were, however, a number of persons who had removed from their registered address, but who had not yet lost their legal residence in the precinct, because they had not yet acquired a residence elsewhere.

Such was the case with those persons who had removed from one legislative district of the city to another, or to one of the counties of the State, less than six months before the day of election. In such event, as they would not be entitled to be registered in the place to which they had moved, they had not yet lost the right to be registered in that from which they had gone. A few other contingencies may be supposed in which a person may have lost an actual residence, and have been so reported, without having lost the legal right to be registered. How many of such cases there are among the total of deaths and removals already estimated cannot of course be precisely stated; the materials at hand for even a very close approximation are insufficient. I can only say that on the whole they could not, I suppose, have exceeded 3000. Upon this basis, the work the registrars had to do to accomplish all the law seems to have supposed they would accomplish—that is, to remove from the lists the name of every voter who had ceased to have the right to remain on them—would have been to have stricken off or transferred no less than 30,608 names.

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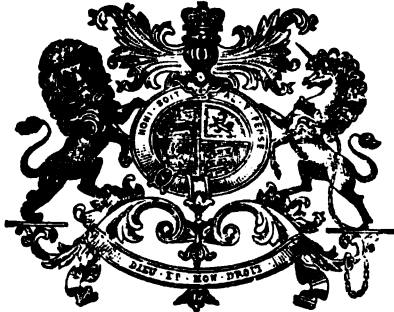


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THE MONTH.

UNTIL the full text of the new registration and election laws leaves the seclusion of the Governor's House, and the people have an opportunity to examine the three measures line by line, it is impossible to say how fully they will serve the purpose, for which they profess to have been, and perhaps were, framed, of preventing election crimes and securing the impartial and faithful count of their votes. So far as we are informed, however, it is believed that the laws at least represent great progress, nor is it thought likely by unprejudiced persons that any provisions can have been incorporated in the bills which will wholly deprive the public of the benefit which seems bound to result from the following important and fundamental additions to the old law, so far as Baltimore City is concerned, viz. (1) a new registration in Baltimore City this year and biennially thereafter; (2) minority representation on the Board of Supervisors of Elections, which now appoints precinct boards of registration as well as judges and clerks of elections; (3) registration by precincts, by precinct boards of three registers, with minority representation; (4) the presence in the polling room of a watcher appointed by the candidates of each political party, authorized by law to watch the casting and count of the vote; and (5) Glass ballot boxes.

ALL of the above provisions were incorporated in the Reform League Election Law, and so far as they go were taken bodily from it. The sections providing for them omit many important provisions for making them effective, and as might have been expected, are in many cases loosely and carelessly written. The following are the most important provisions of the Reform League law which do not appear in the new laws: (1) Annual instead of biennial registration (a change, however, which may be plausibly defended on grounds of economy and convenience); (2) a provision that the board of registration in each precinct should act as judges of election, thus saving the double expense and labor incurred in the appointment of new judges, and securing for election day judges whose experience in registering the voters would be valuable in detecting fraud in the cast of the vote; (3) the official announcement of the vote at the polls, the reduction of the result to three official certificates, and the immediate destruction of the ballots; (4) the use of the original registration books at the polls in place of the troublesome and expensive process of making up poll books required by the old law and retained by the new one; (5) a provision that at the conclusion of the vote the word "no" should be written in a column provided for the purpose, after the name of each voter not marked as "voted"; (6) new registrations in the counties every four years; (7) simple and effective methods for canvassing the votes from the several precincts by a small canvassing board, in place of the cumbersome and absurd system of requiring all the one hundred and eighty judges to sign the returns from the city; and (8) a provision that the ballot box should be placed in the middle of a room, and that the vote should be cast in the room in place of the unhappy practice of voting through a window. We will

print the bills in full in our columns as soon as they can be obtained from Annapolis.

THE first official act under the new law has been the appointment of the new board of supervisors of elections by Governor Jackson, one of whom, for the first time in Maryland, is now required to be of the minority party. Of Mr. Joseph B. Stafford, the only member of the old board reappointed, we are bound to say that the last board, of which he was a member, performed its duty, to the best of our knowledge, with reasonable impartiality and judgment. Mr. Hiram G. Dudley, the new Democratic appointee, is a director of the Corn and Flour Exchange, the senior partner of the firm of Dudley & Carpenter, and, we are informed, a man of good character and standing. Mr. Robert Cathcart, the Republican supervisor, cannot suit the friends of honest elections at all until more is known of him. He appears to have no occupation but that of a professional politician and officeholder, and has been for twenty-five years in politics for what he has been able to make out of it. During the war he was one of the "Home Guards" in the office of the Provost Marshal in the East Baltimore Congressional District, and he has since then faithfully served his country in various government offices paying good salaries, never laying down his arms until President Cleveland was elected, when he was the first man removed. A man of this character can hardly be suited to perform the delicate judicial functions of a supervisor of elections. To say the least, he will be too much disposed to use his office for the advancement of the political party of which he is a member, while his sworn duty is of course something entirely different. The Governor would have better performed his duty if he had followed the same rule in selecting his Republican supervisor which we hope and believe he followed in selecting his colleagues, viz. to select men from the business community, who have neither the ambitions nor the temptations which beset men who are in politics for a living and are bound to stay there or come to want.

GOVERNOR JACKSON has done a wholly improper and unwarranted act in pardoning the judges and clerks of election who were convicted by the Criminal Court of Baltimore City last year and sentenced to the Baltimore City jail. The newspapers report him as having said that as no one appeared at Annapolis on the day set for the consideration of the pardons to oppose them, and as the prisoners had served for six months (about one fourth of the term for which they were sentenced), and still further, as the new election laws will prevent such crimes in the future, he felt justified in releasing the prisoners. In view of the fact that at least one of the prisoners "skipped his bail" and only recently returned for sentence, of course such talk was evidently disingenuous, and worthy only of a Governor who could appoint to the responsible office of register of elections the barkeeper in the saloon of a notorious political criminal. Governor Jackson knew perfectly well that the crimes of the men whom he had absolved were of the most flagrant character, so much so, indeed, that the money and political influence of the entire city "Machine" could not

protect them from a verdict of guilty at the hands of juries, some of whom were actually shamed by the overwhelming evidence into verdicts which they should have liked to be different. The Reform League, whose failure to send representatives to teach him his duty as an honest Governor he is said to have facetiously remarked upon, had already done its full part in securing the conviction of the criminals, and it could add nothing which would influence an honest man more than the facts which it produced at the trial under the sanction of the oaths of its witnesses. When President Cleveland was urged to pardon a prisoner who had been convicted and sentenced in a Western city for tampering with the registration lists, he wrote, "I cannot pardon a crime against the election laws except it be in a case presenting unusually strong considerations for clemency. I consider such offences the worst of all crimes, and I know of none the punishment of which is more important to the public." It is a pity indeed that the Governor of Maryland cannot feel a like repugnance to what seems to us almost an executive co-operation in crimes against the suffrage.

THE presidential campaign of next fall promises to be one of such unusual vigor and bitterness that much fear is expressed by the friends of civil service reform lest the Democratic party should be tempted to reorganize the familiar "officeholder's machine" for campaign purposes, which has been a prominent feature of every presidential contest for the past fifty years. The following resolutions of the New York Civil Service Reform Association, passed last month, are therefore most timely:

Resolved, That the countenance given by Mr. Maynard, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Benedict, the Public Printer, to a scheme which contemplated the employment of public officers as electioneering agents of a political party, is a flagrant violation of those principles in the conduct of the public service which it is the object of this Association to promote, and a palpable disregard of the spirit of the President's circular of July 14, 1886, and of the views of office-holding activity in politics which he has frequently and forcibly expressed.

Resolved, That the alleged abandonment of the circular when the publication of the facts had led to a strong expression of public disapproval does not diminish in any degree the offense of the officers in question, and leaves them exposed and baffled in an effort indirectly to discredit the good faith of the head of an Administration under which they hold office.

Resolved, That Executive indifference to open disregard of the sound principles of official conduct which have been often emphatically declared by the President is a most serious injury to the cause of Civil Service Reform, and one which is contemplated with the sincerest regret by those who believe that reform to be one of the gravest and most pressing of the great questions before the country.

Resolved, That the general and stringent public condemnation of the proposed circular and of the connection with it of conspicuous officers of the Government is an encouraging sign of the sensitiveness of public opinion to traditional and grave abuses in the civil service, and of the rapidly increasing public conviction of the necessity of reasonable, thorough, and consistent civil service reform.

Resolved, That an attempt on the part of high officers of this Government to coerce the Postmasters of the country into becoming party electioneering agents, and reporting to party committees the politics of those who go to the post-offices, is discreditable to the politics and official life of the United States.

It is, of course, entirely needless to remind unprejudiced people, that if the Democratic party should have the patriotism, and we may add, the wisdom to refrain from any attempt to use the Government patronage in the coming campaign, or if indeed the Administration should have a reasonable amount

of success in preventing the customary elaborate and shameless organization of the officeholders by the managers of the party, it should be a wholly novel experience for the American people, and a splendid tribute to the Democratic party. It is more likely, however, that Senator Hale, who is now engaged in his pious search for "offensive partisanship" in Philadelphia and elsewhere, will succeed in discovering shortly some wicked circulars to officeholders requesting them "if convenient" "to remit immediately" their "voluntary contributions." The Senator certainly knows what such circulars look like.

So far as the Federal departments in Baltimore are concerned in the matter of political assessments, a plea of "guilty" has been officially entered by the heads of at least two of them, in their letters to the National Civil Service Commission, which are now in the hands of the printer. Collector Groome innocently urges that the law be amended so that "assessment circulars" shall be forbidden the United States mails, and indicates with refreshing frankness that the employes in his office regularly receive and respond to them. It is due to the Collector to say that his letter is written with dignity and in a spirit of co-operation, which is a fresh evidence of the fact that if he were not wholly in the hands of the managers he would be disposed to do his duty as a public officer. Postmaster Brown's letter is a painful reminder of his predecessor, and in it he makes the same mistake that Mr. Veazey did, in supposing that the public standard of official duty was as low as his own. He declares that "the act prohibiting political contributions has no effect on the thinking men in his office, as they exercise the prerogative of American citizens and voluntarily contribute directly to any political organization whose principles they may espouse; the weaker-minded men are indifferent, and placing themselves under cover of the act of January 16, 1883, do not contribute at all." He intends to leave the impression upon gullible people, whom he supposes, like Mr. Veazey, to exist in sufficiently large quantities, that "the thinking men" in and out of office are burning with holy zeal to back up the "boys," and that they indignantly refuse to be denied this joy because they draw government salaries. Mr. Brown and, unfortunately for him, every man of common sense knows that this is untrue, and that there are not a dozen men in his employ who would consent or could afford to take two or three per cent of their scanty salaries away from their wives and children, if they drew them from a private business firm, or if they were serving under a postmaster who did not entertain Mr. Brown's views about men who refused to be assessed. Of course Mr. Brown's letter was intended to increase the number of "thinking men" in the post-office, and it cannot fail to have that effect unless, as we hope, the Civil Service Commission and President Cleveland will come to the same conclusion about him as they did about Mr. Veazey, that a man who so wantonly sets at defiance a law which he has solemnly sworn to protect is better suited to private life.

THE LEGISLATURE AND THE GOVERNOR.

PERHAPS the most appreciative and discriminating possible comment upon the recent session of the Legislature, is the deep and universal sense of relief at its termination. This is doubly emphasized by the fact, that the feeling to which we refer is not confined to political opponents, nor to those who might be accused of a predisposition to criti-

cize and condemn, but is shared, perhaps most intensely, by those who, under ordinary circumstances, might have been relied on for apologies and excuses, if not for justification. We doubt, for instance, if there is a single dissatisfied Reformer or querulous Independent who is one half so indignant and resentful at the shortcomings or offenses of the session, as the large body of stalwart and orthodox Democrats, upon whom the Ring so nearly forced their audacious and unprincipled scheme for gerrymandering the State, in the interest of Mr. "Fred." Talbott and Mr. Barnes Compton. Over and over we have urged upon the respectable members of the Democratic party, who have permitted their influence and character to be used and abused by the Ring, from time to time, in practical association with measures and manipulations against which their sense of right would have revolted, if directly appealed to—that they were absolutely certain to be betrayed and cast aside, the very moment that the Bosses believed they could get along without them. There has not been a single instance, in the history of Maryland Bossism, in which a man of respectability has been tempted into even ostensible alliance with Gormanism, that he has not been dropped, ignominiously, by the wayside, as soon as he could be dispensed with as a deodorant or a figurehead. Bossism cannot possibly make any permanent alliance with character. It has and can have no real sympathy with personal manliness, integrity, or independence. It needs blind, unreasoning tools, not equal allies. It will promise anything, hold out any inducements, dangle Senatorships and Congressional nominations before the eyes of men who have aspirations and whose help it needs, but, just as surely as its promises are made will they be broken—just as certainly will the promised prize, which has tempted one man, be snatched from his grasp when it has done its work with him, to tempt some other man, who in his turn will be fooled and shelved. There is more than one gentleman in the Legislature which has just subsided, who has this lesson to learn and is absolutely sure to learn it, in sackcloth and ashes, now that he has done the work into doing which his vanity or ambition was cajoled. It would be curious to know how many innocent legislators think they have reason to believe, from assurances upon which they rely, that they will be supported by "the party" for the successorship to Senator Wilson, or will succeed Mr. Gibson in the House of Representatives.

The leading and justly respected Democrats in Western and Southern Maryland and Carroll County, whom Mr. Gorman would have handed over to political annihilation by his redistricting bill—partly by way of precaution against their want of subserviency and partly as a sacrifice to the promotion of men whom he can better use—surely these gentlemen must know, now, if they never knew before, what Bossism signifies and is equal to. Even Mr. Comptroller Baughman must have, by this time, a lively sense of the cheerful readiness with which his friend, the Senior Senator, would have "knifed" him, as they call it—even, indeed, if he did not go through that pleasant performance some time ago, in a quiet way—as some believe—when the young Demosthenes was beaten for Congress. There will be, indeed there have been already, many eyes opened by the gerrymander, which have long been closed, and which few things else would have opened so wide or with so clear and intelligent a vision. That the scheme should have been defeated disgracefully, at last, by the sheer force and revolt of Democratic opinion, although the "fiat had gone forth"

for its passage—as an indiscreet Gormanite member was silly and reckless enough to proclaim—is certainly a large item on the credit side of the session. But the disreputable and gross violation of propriety and duty on the part of the Speaker of the House of Delegates, in counting the vote on the final passage of the bill, and the indecent efforts of the servants of the Ring to change the vote while the count was indecently suspended, must live, to the utter discredit of the House of Delegates and its presiding officer, so long as the session is remembered. We are gratified in believing, and we think with the fullest reason, that the whole transaction, however disreputable in itself, has, at all events, had the one great and crowning result of shaking to its foundations the despotic power which Mr. Gorman and his confederates have heretofore wielded in the Democratic party. The selfish and reckless assault which they dared to make upon every interest of the party which interfered with their domination, and the wholesale sacrifice which they did not hesitate to attempt of every leading man in the party who stood in the way of their personal schemes and the aggrandizement of such a satellite as Talbott, required no denunciation or exposure. It denounced and exposed itself. That it would not have been attempted, except in that absolute confidence of success, which previous successes seemed to justify the Gormanites in feeling, is altogether certain. They would have made no such revelation of themselves, if they had had any doubt of their ability to cover it up in the triumph of their enterprise. Defeated, it stands exposed in all its nakedness, and any honest man who needed information as to what the Ring is and means and is capable of—and as to whether it is synonymous with "the party," and can or ought to be trusted with the management or destinies of any party that has any self-respect—has no longer any excuse for mistake or self-deception. We have never ceased to insist upon exposure—relentless and unceasing—as the primary condition and chief element of all success in canvassing against the Ring. We have never lost confidence in defeating it whenever the light could be fully let in upon its counsels and iniquities. We have never doubted that, sooner or later, in some unguarded moment of greediness, or self-assertion, or insolent despotism or defiance, it would unconsciously rend its own veil asunder and die in the honest sunshine which disclosed what it was. We believe that this moment has been reached, and that the Re-districting Bill was, as it ought to be, the beginning of the end.

We have been led away from the line of general comment upon the course of legislation during the recent session, by the large interest which the matter just discussed has excited, not only in the Democratic party but among all the people of the State. The entire situation, however, entitles us to say that our anticipations of the course and action of the Legislature, as expressed in several of the issues of the CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, have been literally verified. While recognizing the fact that a very considerable number of Democrats, of high character and entire independence, had been elected to the General Assembly, and that their natural impulse would be towards the faithful redemption of the pledges made by the party, we never ceased to insist that there would be constant antagonism to good measures on the part of the Ring and those whom it could control; and that, if these last were unable altogether to prevent the adoption of such reforms as public opinion demanded from the party, they would still endeavor to restrict them as much as practicable, and minimize, as far as possible, their bene-

ficial results. The fate of the redistricting bill did not so much illustrate the ability of the good men in the Legislature to thwart an unprincipled measure, as the enormous and overwhelming force of Democratic public opinion which paralyzed the efforts of the weaker sinners among those subservient to the bosses. In other matters, however, the people of the State are indebted, and very largely indebted, to the conservative element in both houses for the adoption of much excellent and satisfactory legislation, and the defeat of many schemes which the Ring and its lobby had expected to force through during the session. Our esteemed contemporary, the Baltimore *Sun*, was pleased to announce in its issue of March 14th, in speaking of the registration and election laws which have been enacted, "*that nothing emanating from any quarter, except the precincts of the Reform League, would receive the slightest commendation from the little coterie of political reformers who have set themselves up as authority on this subject. When Mr. Pearce prepared his bill, following in the main the Reform League, but venturing to differ in a few particulars, he was instantly set upon and called sharply to account for his transgression. Governor Whyte also devoted much care and attention to the preparation of a law which was also raided simply because it fell short of the standard of authority on this subject.*" We make this quotation principally for the observation contained in the first sentence. But it is difficult to restrain the expression of our amazement at the wild and reckless falsehood of the statements made in regard to Mr. Pearce and his bill and the law which was prepared by Governor Whyte. We venture to say that from the beginning to the end of the session not one word was heard, from any member of the Reform League or of the Reform party anywhere, in which either of those gentlemen or his measure was "set upon," or anything but respect was expressed for their efforts to redeem the pledges which they felt that the good faith of the party required to be kept. The particulars in which both of the bills referred to differed from that of the Reform League were few and of subordinate importance, and we do not know, nor have we heard of any reformer who would not most gratefully and warmly have welcomed the adoption of either one of them as it stood. In regard to the manliness with which Mr. Pearce discharged his duty, and the thorough intelligence and good faith which distinguished his conduct from first to last, there can be and is no difference of opinion among men of sense and character. High as he had previously stood, in the estimation of the Democratic party throughout the State and of all who knew him, he never occupied as enviable a position as that which he fills to-day. We think we may assert, with equal positiveness, that he has provoked the resentment of the Ring, whose bad faith he so vigorously antagonized, as certainly as he has won the approval of all good citizens. We are equally sure that Mr. Whyte has never done anything, in his political career, more worthy of the position which he occupies in his party, than his preparation and advocacy of the measure which was introduced in the House of Delegates by Mr. Denny. The readers of this journal will not fail to remember how repeatedly we expressed a willingness, not only on our own behalf, but that of the Reform party, to accept any measure, no matter by whom introduced or under what name, which would substantially embrace the leading reforms provided for in the Reform League Law. They will remember that we, in fact, particularized the Pearce Bill, and expressed warmly the satisfaction with which we

would welcome its adoption without alteration of any sort. It is therefore absolutely gratuitous and characteristically unworthy, upon the part of the *Sun*, to intimate that the Reform League, or its members, ever regarded "the work of the League as the perfection of human wisdom," or that they were likely to receive with unfavorable criticism any measure not their own. But the *Sun* does not stand alone in the suggestion upon which we are commenting. The Honorable President of the Senate, in taking leave of his colleagues, had the good taste to indulge in a somewhat similar allocution. We have not his speech before us, but, as well as we remember, he not only expressed the idea substantially, that the legislation of the session would please everybody except the Reformers, but rather intimated that it would be disagreeable to him for them to find it satisfactory. He appeared to think that dissatisfaction, upon the part of the large number of citizens who desire the adoption of reform measures and a better administration of the Democratic party in the State government, was a thing rather to be coveted than regretted. Now, so far as THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER may speak for the "little coterie," of whom the *Sun* writes, and to whom Senator Peter has reference, we must take leave to deny, utterly, that it regards the action of the Legislature in many particulars, and especially in the matter of the registration and election laws, as in any sense unworthy of the "slightest commendation." On the contrary, while the laws which were adopted for the protection of the ballot box are not in many essential particulars such as we advocated or should have desired, we regard them as an enormous improvement upon the discreditable legislation which previously existed. Not only this, but we heartily commend the Legislature for many admirable measures which it has placed upon the statute book. We commend it quite as highly too, and as strongly, for what it has left undone as for what it did. We give it credit for powers of resistance which cannot readily be over-estimated, considering the temptations and the pressure which were upon it. While we recognize, at every step of its progress, the malign and sordid influence of the boss element, in originating and urging and too often in procuring legislation which ought never to have been tolerated, we have pleasure in testifying that under the influence of good faith and of the pledges made by the party, and with a sincere desire to do the best which the condition surrounding them would permit, the conservative members of both houses have deserved well of their fellow-citizens. The legislation of the session being still unpublished, and it being impossible to ascertain the bearing and operation of many laws which have been passed, and in which our experience of Ring legislation teaches us that "snakes" may be only too apt to abound, it would of course be rash for us to speak, except in the most general way, as to the net result of the winter's work. We do know, however, that many important bills for the improvement of our jurisprudence and the administration of justice in the courts were passed and have received the Executive sanction. The adoption of the code prepared by Mr. Poe, although it suggests many things which it would not be pleasant to revive, will nevertheless turn out, we are sure, to be a measure of very large advantage to the community and the legal profession. So far as we have had an opportunity to judge, the work of the codifier has been thoroughly and carefully done. The defeat of the scandalous schemes for the manipulation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and its indebtedness will always redound, not only to the credit of the Legislature,

but to its power of resistance to boss influence in its worst and strongest shape. That the audacious project for the extension of the term of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore should have failed in any self-respecting assembly, is not so much to be surprised at, as that it should ever have received the temporary countenance which the House was tricked and bullied into giving it. And yet, urged as it was, and backed by the influences and considerations which were behind it, it is almost as much a matter of wonder as of congratulation that it should have been defeated. We are very certain that it would have been forced upon our people, but for the vigor with which conservative public opinion rallied to the support of the legislative conservatism which opposed it. The single and simple enactment in which it resulted, requiring the municipal election to take place in November, instead of October, was a wise and salutary measure.

In respect to the registration and election laws, a good deal more might be said than our space will permit. It is not to be denied that there was great and just disappointment felt at the promulgation of the bill reported to the Senate by Mr. Brown. There was no gentleman in that body who was looked to with more confidence than Mr. Brown, by all conservative people, for the strict and unfaltering redemption of the pledges made by the Democratic party during the canvass of last fall. If he had come up to the expectations of the public, the measures which were ultimately adopted would hardly have been shorn of so many of the beneficial provisions which good faith required them to contain. We are quite satisfied that the really conservative members of the Senate would never have assented to his bill as they ultimately did, if they had not come to the conclusion that it was the best thing they could get, and that they would lose rather than gain by antagonizing it. To Mr. Randall, a Republican Senator, we cannot but express our respect for his efforts, in conjunction with his Republican colleagues, to make good the pledges under which their party made its canvass last autumn. Nor do we think that the independent members of the House of Delegates are liable to just criticism, because of their failure, on the floor, to antagonize certain provisions of the bill as decidedly as their convictions would have suggested. They were no doubt wise in their conclusion that the bill which the Senate had sent to them was as good as it would be permitted by the opposition to be made, and much better, on the whole, than they had reason to fear that it would be. To such men as Dr. Mackall of Cecil, Mr. Laird of Montgomery, and Messrs. Robertson and Denny of the city delegation, the acknowledgments of all good citizens are especially due for their desire and efforts to render the reform measures as perfect as the Democratic party had bound itself, in so solemn a way, to make them. Their labors, although unsuccessful in many regards, were nevertheless a part, and a valuable part, of the efficiency with which the conservatism of the House contributed to the results which were finally obtained. That the bills as passed do not half redeem the pledges of the party, and that, in excluding annual registration, they fell away from one of the most positive and important of the obligations into which it entered, it is of course impossible to deny. That, in refusing to abolish the "window" and require the voting to take place in a room apart from the crowd, and under the strictest *surveillance* which with the window system is impossible, the Legislature failed to erect one of the most important barriers against fraud, no practical man can dispute. The same may be said of their refusal to require the word "no" to be inserted opposite the name of

every registered voter who had failed to vote, and their failure to adopt any system, worthy the name of fairness and completeness, for the canvassing of votes and the making of the returns. Happily, these and other omissions cannot, it is true, be said to paralyze or neutralize, in themselves, the enormous advantages gained for the franchise by the provisions which were actually adopted. But it is worthy of remark that they are precisely in the direction in which the professional ballot-stuffer or false counter of votes would desire to remain unhampered by prohibitory or restrictive enactments. It is observable, in all boss legislation—so observable, indeed, as to be almost ludicrous, from its perpetual recurrence—that the statesmen who direct it are always willing to let the general provisions against fraud be as wise and as virtuous as can be desired, provided there be room enough left, in the minor details, to enable an expert to render them inefficient. They will help you, even ostentatiously, in mounting as many big guns as you please on the front of the fortress, provided you will only leave open or unguarded a few convenient holes in the rear. It is in these details of which we speak that the "fine work," as they call it, of the ballot-stuffing professional is "put in." It is precisely of this sort of opportunity that the election system just superseded was so prodigal, and it was in this, especially, that the experts of the Ring desired the system to be altered as little as possible. Moreover, it is precisely as to those details and their importance that persons who have no practical experience in the working of city elections are most blind. There is hardly one country gentleman, in a thousand, who knows any more of the tricks which they facilitate, than he does of the processes by which Heller, or any other magician, is able to work his wonderful transformations. It is therefore in regard to these things that the average member of the Legislature is most easily imposed on, and he honestly imagines that they are of comparatively small importance, provided the larger and more wholesale provisions for the protection of the ballot are of the sort he desires. Obviously, therefore, as we think, in the particular omissions to which we have alluded, the hand of the Ring is most conspicuous, and it will inevitably be seen hereafter, whenever the case arises, that the suffrage will be tampered with, in those directions, to the full extent which the opportunities afforded by the new system will allow. That those opportunities are greatly lessened by the recent legislation, ought to be, and is, a subject of general gratification; and so far, as we have said, from finding nothing to commend in the action of the Legislature in these regards, we cheerfully agree that there is a great deal at which every reformer, and every man who desires the purity and freedom of the ballot box, must sincerely rejoice. We must be permitted to add that the Reform League is entitled, beyond all peradventure, to the chief credit of what has been gained, be it much or little. Without its efforts—without its exposures, persistent and costly, of the frauds committed under the recent system—without its laborious preparation of wise remedial laws—the changes which have been made never would have been made; conservative Democrats would have had no evidence on which to act; the Ring would never have been forced to make concessions to public opinion, nor would public opinion ever have insisted, so peremptorily, on the reforms by which the suffrage is hereafter to be guarded. The worst enemy of the League, if he be only reasonably candid, cannot fail to be mortified, when he contrasts its relation to the whole subject with that deliberately assumed by Messrs. Carter and

Poe, the leaders of the boss canvass last autumn, in the bills which they submitted to the General Assembly. In face of the pledges of these gentlemen upon the hustings—in face especially of the fact that Mr. Carter presided over the Democratic State Convention and Mr. Poe not only promised to remain all winter at Annapolis to see the League Bill passed, with slight amendments, but actually submitted such a bill, under the sanction of his official obligations as codifier of the laws—it is difficult to realize the possibility of their ultimately recommending the legislation, of which a printed copy is before us, with their names upon it as its authors. It is hard to conceive of these gentlemen, under the circumstances, proposing, among other things, a registration law under which there was to be no new registration at all, either now or hereafter! Even the full power of Boss influence was too weak to bring the Legislature down to that.

We should not do the subject before us half justice, after recognizing the good which was done during the session, and especially the controlling and manly conservatism of the Senate, if we were to leave unnoticed the wholesale pardon extended by Governor Jackson to the criminals convicted and in prison for official frauds upon the elective franchise. After the Legislature had refused to make such crimes felonious, it was left for the Governor to demonstrate that even as misdemeanors they might practically be committed with impunity. Nothing more demoralizing or unworthy could easily be conceived on the part of the Executive of a State, which was, at the very moment, in the throes of self-deliverance from the foulest corruption of the suffrage. Only the baleful influences which nominated Governor Jackson could have guided his hand to such work. His pretexts for doing it were so uncandid and puerile as rather to aggravate his offense. Nobody, he says, protested against it, and there was a general opinion (which nobody ever heard of but himself) that the poor fellows had suffered enough already! Besides, we were about starting upon a new system, and as such offenses were not likely to be committed again, we might as well let off those who had committed them before! In other words, when just such crimes as the parties pardoned had been sentenced for committing had excited a political revolution in the State and its legislation, at enormous expense and after enormous agitation, it was a good time to let loose on the community the knaves who had done it all! But the Governor could never have brought himself to the point of justifying his behavior by any such preternatural mendacity as that of which the Baltimore *Sun* was guilty in its issue of March 6th. "There was a very general feeling," says the *Sun*, "that the men who were pardoned by Governor Jackson were the victims, to some extent at least, of temporary excitement and partisan malice, stimulated to an unusual degree of activity by the reckless falsehoods, innuendo and abuse which were heaped upon the Democratic party management in this city by a combination of political scandalmongers, etc., etc." "There was a strong impression," it adds, "in the public mind that some of them at least had not been fairly dealt with." This is positively inconceivable, except under the plea of insanity. There is not one man, who knows anything about the cases referred to, who does not know that all of it, in every line and word, is as absolute a fable as the story of Sinbad the Sailor. The criminals in question were not only fairly, deliberately and considerably tried, but were so palpably and conspicuously guilty, upon the evidence published in the daily newspapers, that there was no room for the slightest doubt or question of their guilt, and nobody ever suggested

that such question or doubt existed or was dreamed of. Nay, the *Sun* itself pointed, in its editorials, to their conviction, as evidence that the criminal laws were fully and fairly administered in Maryland, and that it was a "slander" to say that the "criminal classes" had things their own way in Baltimore!

THE REFORM LEAGUE AND ITS WORK.

WHEN Governor Jackson signed the new election laws, a part of the Reform League's task was partially accomplished. We speak thus guardedly, with no purpose to undervalue either the good done or the merit of those who did it, but simply to conform to the facts. A good law is necessary, but far from sufficient, to ensure fair elections; and the law which we have at last obtained, although perhaps good for Maryland, can be fairly so called only when compared with what it replaces. The public conscience has, however, been so far stimulated into healthy disgust of election frauds, that a law has been passed which, if administered fairly, will make them substantially harmless, and which, even administered as we expect it to be, will embarrass those who perpetrate or profit by them, and hasten a more radical reform. There is, however, a serious danger to the cause of honest government and pure politics, in the very fact that so much has been gained. Maryland reformers are only too prone to "rest and be thankful," even when they have little enough cause for thankfulness; and now that the corrupt junto controlling our dominant party has been goaded into grudgingly giving the city biennial precinct registration in congressional years, and minority representation among all its election and registration officers, those who have wrested so much from them by more than two years of unwearied effort amidst apathy, discouragement, and persistent obstruction, may well think that they have fairly earned at least a season of repose. But all that has been gained will be lost, or worse than lost, if not guarded with unceasing vigilance; and after all, this is but a part, a small part even, of that improvement in our politics which alone can render them worthy of a free and enlightened commonwealth. To realize this, let us look back at the work of the League.

It was organized immediately after the fraudulent election of Mayor Hodges. Two suggestive incidents, the tragic death of Dr. Thornton and the abandonment by Barney Hess of his libel suits against the *American* and *Herald*, have recently recalled to the public mind the impudent indecency of that outrage on the people's rights. It is scarcely credible that a man of reputable connections and antecedents, as Governor Lloyd was, should have created a vacancy in the Board of Election Supervisors in the midst of an exciting contest arousing the utmost partisan bitterness, have filled it with such a man as Dr. Thornton (a candidate for office also when appointed), and when notified that his appointee was selecting as judges men like Barney Hess, have designated a day after the election to hear these charges of official misconduct! It may be less surprising that Dr. Thornton should have told a committee of well known citizens that he did not think a man who "kept a gambling house and a bawdy house" was "disqualified to act as a judge of election," but the sequel is worthy of remembrance. The person whom the supervisor, with the Governor's implied sanction, held to be a fit judge of election in Baltimore, served as return judge in the second precinct of the tenth ward; in this precinct Cleveland obtained in 1884 a majority of 36, Latrobe in 1887 one of 9; Mr. Hess gave Hodges 74, when even the doctored returns showed that at least ten thousand Democrats throughout the city voted for Judge Brown. For this he was rewarded by a position in the Water Department. During the late campaign allusion was made in a political advertisement to the charges regarding his past life previously laid before the supervisors; he thereupon brought suit for libel against two of the papers publishing this advertisement; these suits he has now dismissed. In some countries people of the class to which this gentleman has been publicly charged to belong have a license from the state to ply their avocation. Americans sometimes return thanks that they are not as these highly immoral nations; but in Maryland, and, so

far as we know, everywhere else in the Christian world, these pursuits have not been accepted as a fit training for judicial functions and no impediment to public employment.

To arouse a wholesome public opinion in a community where such abuses hardly attracted attention was no easy task, but the League set about it resolutely and patiently, accepting without surprise or disappointment the little success at first achieved, and treating the persistent hostility, at first contemptuous, afterwards envenomed by fear, of public officials whose livelihood it threatened, and the hired yet malignant calumny of the *Sun*, as the inevitable incidents of its mission. On the one hand it submitted to the Legislature of 1886 an election law of which that body took no notice whatever; on the other, it pressed the prosecution of Mincher and James Mahon, secured the acquittal of Burgess, and began its struggle to expose and punish the glaring and, indeed, clumsy frauds of the last congressional elections. In this it was aided by two unlooked-for advantages. Governor Lloyd had selected supervisors who, while possessing apparently every moral quality needed to render them acceptable to the dominant party, were after all mere bunglers in their work. They chose judges and clerks with such open disregard, not only of propriety and fairness, but of the very letter of the imperfect law they had to administer, and these officers perpetrated their allotted frauds with such stupid recklessness, that even a regular Democratic "business man" could not shut his eyes to the scandal, while the supervisors' conduct in the *mandamus* proceeding was at once so blundering and so shameless as to disgust the blindest partisan. Moreover, by a mistake not likely to be soon repeated, the managers had tolerated in Mr. Gans a public prosecutor neither helplessly incompetent nor in sympathy with criminals, and the prosecutions then set on foot by the League did not all result in failures of justice. These adventitious circumstances in nowise diminish the credit due to the League officers and agents for its gallant and persistent fight, but they go far to explain the prompt and considerable results which it obtained.

When the Democratic Convention met in July the Ring was disposed to concede *pro forma* the existence of abuses in our election laws, and to promise a remedy, but did not purpose either to make definite pledges for the future or to correct present evils. It named a mock committee, with Mr. Gwinn as its chairman, and composed otherwise of very respectable gentlemen, none of whom it believed would serve, to prepare a sham law which would have never seen the light; while, although Magers and his colleagues were finally driven from office by the fear of prosecution, the Governor showed at first as little intention as desire to give them successors of a different type. But the seed had been sown, and when the issues of the campaign had been fully developed, subterfuge and evasion had to be abandoned; it became plainly too dangerous to repeat the tactics of 1885. So we had a respectable, although still partisan, board of supervisors, and the demand for the Tilden laws had become so universal and imperative that Mr. Gwinn's constitutional scruples regarding annual registration, formally endorsed in the platform, were silently abandoned on the stump; while Mr. John P. Poe, to whom had been turned over the seemingly abandoned task of the committee, varied his protestations that he would see the Reform League's bill made law, only by denunciations of certain "leprous" calumniators, and especially THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER, who doubted his disinterestedness and good faith. On the strength of these tardy pledges of amendment, the people, unwisely we thought and still think, committed the State government for another term to the party management so often tried and found wanting; and we do not hesitate to say that every good promise which it made was extorted by the Reform League and the public opinion which it alone had aroused, and by nothing else, and that these promises would have been as barren of fruit in legislation as the many previously made in the like stress but for the continued presence of the same watchful agency for good. We could not have had a more crucial test of the Ring's ineradicable hatred for fair elections than the late session has furnished. Not only was the Reform League's law again submitted to this Legislature,

but no less than four other laws were immediately introduced, prepared respectively by the Crescent Club, the newly elected Attorney-General, Mr. Codifier Poe, and Mr. James Alfred Pearce, the only member of the Democratic Committee who seems to have taken his appointment seriously. So far as these bills differed at all from the Reform League's law, they differed only in omitting, with more or less justification or excuse, some of its safeguards against fraud, but their entire framework and nineteen-twentieths of their language were absolutely identical, as well with each other as with their common model. Two of the changes proposed from the latter, relieving the courts from passing upon the political qualifications of election officers, and dispensing with clerks in registration, could be plausibly defended; all the others seemed to us either through design or ignorance calculated to impair the efficiency of the law. But whatever may be thought as to their differences, the passage of any one of these five bills would have redeemed the campaign pledges of the Democratic party, and no committee really wishing to do this would have needed more than a day to report a bill embodying the really essential features of them all.

The editorial statements of the *Sun* that the Legislature was "confused" by the multitude of projects submitted, or that these were "raided" by the partisan hypercriticism of friends of reform, were, as nearly all its allegations on this subject have been, simply gross and wilful untruths. The various projects submitted by the different Democratic reformers were subjected to a fair but friendly criticism; but this neither could have delayed, nor did in fact delay, the committee's report or the Legislature's action for a single hour. What retarded both, and made both in some measure a disappointment which would have been far more grievous but for fear of the Reform League, was the reluctance of the Ring to do anything, and their determination to do the least possible to correct abuses without which they could not live. Their purpose was at first concealed, partly from prudence, partly, perhaps, because it was not easy to find any one sufficiently shameless to act as its mouthpiece; but when procrastination had emboldened them, and Messrs. Carter and Poe had been found ready to earn the appointed reward even of this service, we learnt what *they* meant by election reform. We have no intention to discuss here the details of the monstrous measure which these gentlemen laid before the committee, the various improvements made in it before it became law, and the many respects in which it falls short of the reasonable hopes of those who gave the dominant party a further lease of power only because with an over-indulgent optimism they believed in the sincerity of its repentance: it is sufficient to say that every good feature in it is contained in the Reform League bill, and it differs from the latter invariably for the worse. That we have an improved law at all we owe to the League: that we have not a better one we owe to the Ring, its paid attorney and its paid organ.

The recent pardon of the convicted election officers so conclusively shows what we are to expect of Governor Jackson, that further comment as to the probable administration of the law is useless. If this is not to be a mere mockery, the League must live and watch and struggle. It has done something, even much, but its task is but begun. We earnestly hope to see no faltering among its members; no weariness in well-doing. Its past gives every cause for courage and perseverance, but its future must be one of vigilance and labor, unless the fruits of all that it has already done are to be wasted.

THE REFORM OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

IN no department of the civil service of the Government is reform more urgently needed than in the Indian service, especially that part of it which is in immediate contact with the Indians upon their Western reservations. The Indian department in former days previous to the war, and even after it, was the notorious refuge of the grossest abuses, so that the term Indian Agent had become almost synonymous

with thief and defrauder. Gen. Grant's peace policy was the dawn of a brighter day, and his call upon the churches of the country to take in hand the civilization of the Indians turned the attention of many men, distinguished for intelligent philanthropy, to the evils then existing. Many of these evils which had their roots in public apathy and ignorance withered as the fierce light of public criticism fell upon them. With the increased interest in Indian affairs resulting from the agitation of the past ten years, a great, but by no means adequate, improvement had been effected in the service. Dishonesty upon the part of Indian agents had become almost unknown; a result due to the fact that a higher order of men were appointed to these positions, and also to the stringent regulations which were introduced to control the use of moneys and supplies. In more than one instance the meagre salary of a worthy Indian agent was supplemented by private funds. Many agents of high character, ability and experience were found in the service upon the incoming of the present administration. There were others unworthy of such praise. It was the strong and apparently well founded hope of disinterested friends of the Indian that President Cleveland, himself a declared friend of the Indian and of a non-partisan civil service, would proceed with wise caution in making removals and appointments upon the reservations. In no department is the appointing power fraught with such serious responsibility as it is in this. In others it is related to inanimate merchandise or mail matter, or to the interests of citizens who by voice and votes are abundantly able to protect themselves and, if need be, to resent their wrongs. But in the Indian service the power of appointment is intimately connected with the most vital personal interests of two hundred and fifty thousand people who have no appreciable control of their own affairs.

The hopes of the friends of the Indians were bitterly disappointed. Scarcely was the President seated when the work of proscription began. Agent after agent was removed, until, out of the sixty in the service, only eight who served under the last administration now remain. At first false or trivial charges served as a pretext to cover the unjust removal of many of these men. Agents to whom the Indian Rights Association had, after a careful examination of their character and record, given its support, and whose cases were brought to the President's personal attention accompanied with the strongest recommendation for their retention in office, were not spared, but fell with the rest. The plea that their experience and knowledge of the Indian were essential to secure the best results for the future of a people feeble, ignorant and who were just emerging from barbarism was urged, but without avail. Sweeping changes were at the same time made in the personnel of the lower branches of the service. The bureau at Washington undertook to revive a vicious and discarded system by which the appointment of agency clerks, in whose hands the most important clerical affairs of the agency rested, was controlled, not by the Agent himself, but by the Indian Commissioner and his assistant. This threw a large increase of patronage into the hands of Assistant Commissioner Upshaw, a thoroughly-paced spoils politician from Tennessee, while it nearly paralyzed the business affairs of many of the reservations. The newly appointed clerks were in almost every instance men who had secured their places through partisan jobbery and influence, and who were totally incompetent to perform their duties. So many of them hailed from Tennessee and Mississippi that it became a matter of common jest in the Indian country that the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner must have swept their native States bare of political friends and relatives.

The Commissioner upon one occasion excused himself from making an appointment solicited by a politician, on the ground that the work of his department had increased one hundred per cent through ignorance of bookkeeping on the part of agency clerks. The same deterioration manifested itself throughout every part of the service. In Government Indian schools upon and near the reservations many competent and faithful teachers and superintendents were removed to make way for persons who had no qualifications for their positions, and who did not attempt to conceal the fact that

their only interest was to draw their salaries. In some instances the most distressing results followed these unfortunate appointments, notably in the case of a superintendent of an Indian boarding school in the Indian Territory, who dismissed his scholars in midwinter to make their way home through the snow with measles broken out upon them. Forty of the children died in consequence. Persons were sent out as physicians, farmers, blacksmiths, etc., whose ignorance of their respective professions or trades was so great as to be ludicrous were not its consequences so serious. A physician who would prescribe internal doses of iodine for a sore throat, or another who orders a poor Indian to take three tablespoonfuls of carbolic acid daily as a remedy for cold; a farmer who knows nothing of farming but what is to be learned in a sausage factory or in oiling the wheels of political meetings at election times—these are not the people who are likely to advance Indians in the ways of civilization, and they should not, therefore, be compensated for that work out of the treasury of the United States. A man who has made his political fortune and his unenviable reputation by stuffing the ballot box and defrauding his friends is hardly entitled to the responsible and delicate position of Indian Inspector, nor is one who stands convicted before the courts of fraud upon his town fit to be sent as an official of the Federal Government to even the most distant of Indian reservations.

The precise facts, dates, names, and circumstances of these and similar cases can be produced if a detailed investigation is desired, but what has been said is sufficient to show the existence of a grave wrong, and to prompt the question, where is the remedy? It is not claimed that there are not faithful and efficient men and women serving under and appointed by the present administration, or that there were no unfaithful and inefficient persons appointed under the past administration. It is freely admitted that there were such. But we do claim confidently that while there is a serious deterioration manifest in the present condition of affairs, a system of appointment wiser and better than has ever existed in the Indian service should be immediately adopted.

The evils complained of are the natural fruit of the spoils system which regards an office as the reward of even the lowest and most immoral party service. The remedy for these evils is only to be found in the adoption of the reformed civil service principle, whereby the appointing power is freed from the great temptations to which it is at present subjected, and where the applicant for office is subjected to a fair and reasonable test in which his political affiliations are not considered, but only his past record, character, and fitness for the particular position to which he aspires. This is what the Indian service now most urgently needs, and it is a reform which Mr. Cleveland, if he be sincere in his professions of interest in the civilization of the Indian, will promptly grant in obedience to the oft repeated and hitherto unavailing prayers of the Indian's disinterested and non-partisan friends.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

PHILADELPHIA (1681-1887): A HISTORY OF MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT. By Edward P. Allinson, A. M., and Boies Penrose, A. B., of the Philadelphia Bar. Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University. Philadelphia, Allen, Lane & Scott. 1887.

The preliminary pamphlet which formed the basis of this work (The City Government of Philadelphia) received our attention in a previous issue (February, 1887). The introduction to the pamphlet, which seemed to us peculiarly objectionable, has found no place in the completed volume now before us, and we therefore find pleasure in taking up the completed work on its merits.

The purpose of this book is to trace the history of the municipal institutions of the City of Philadelphia. It is an historical plea for the latest and most approved system of municipal government as it is embodied in the new charter of 1885, usually known as the Bullitt Bill. Its significance in this way is very great, but it is important in itself as the first historical investigation of the government and

administration of any of the large American cities. The work has been carried out in a thoroughly scholarly manner, and although the book is not interesting to the general public, the authors may assure themselves that it has been welcomed by the narrower circle of readers for which it is intended.

The great problem of municipal government is to combine in some way the administration of affairs which are partly public and partly private, partly political and partly economic. Looked at from one side, a modern city government is a huge business corporation; looked at from another side, it has some of the elements of sovereignty and is intrusted with certain public or political powers. The proper co-ordination of these two functions should be the aim in framing a city charter.

The authors of this work divide the treatment of their subject into historical periods as follows:

I. From the settlement of Philadelphia (1681) to its incorporation in 1701. II. From 1701 to the charter of 1789. III. From 1789 to the consolidation in 1854. IV. From 1854 to 1887, when the new charter went into operation. V. A discussion of the Bullitt Bill and its changes in the organic law.

It would be impossible to give even a meagre account of all the matters of historical interest contained in this book. The following is a brief outline of the old system which was abolished by the new charter.

The first charter was granted by Penn in 1701 and created a close corporation, on the plan of the English borough, the mayor being elected annually by the aldermen and common councilmen, who held office for life and chose their successors. Under this charter the city was governed by a self-elected corporate body who were irresponsible, and independent of the community which they governed. There was no division of executive, legislative, and judicial powers. As the city grew additional powers were granted by the Legislature to separate boards or commissions, which acted with the mayor and common councils, but were entirely independent of each other.

During the Revolution the government of Philadelphia was suspended. In 1789 a legislative charter creating a modern municipality was granted. The close corporation was abolished and the aldermen and common councilmen were elected by the people. The mayor was elected by the aldermen from among themselves. In 1799 the mayor was given large appointing powers. In 1839 the election of the mayor by the people was enacted, but at the same time he was deprived of all appointing powers. Powers over taxation, police, and streets were united in the corporation and delegated by them to commissioners. After 1835 councils gradually absorbed the executive power by means of standing committees. The government by standing committees has been responsible for the evils which brought about the new charter. Under this system there was no responsibility, no co-ordination or consultation between departments, no supervision of public works, and no financial management.

A memorial sent to the Legislature petitioning for the passage of the Bullitt Bill enumerated the evils of the old system: "Inefficiency, waste, badly paved and filthy streets, unwholesome and offensive water, and slovenly and costly management have been the rule for years throughout the city government." To remedy this condition of affairs the Bullitt Bill was passed. The main features of the bill are: (1) the concentration of the appointing power in the hands of the mayor, who is in this way made responsible to the people for the administration; (2) complete separation between the executive and the legislative branches of government.

The bill establishes nine executive departments. The heads of three of them are appointed by the mayor, by and with the advice and consent of the Select Council, viz. the director of the department of public safety (police, public health, etc.), the director of the department of public works, the president and directors of the department of charities and corrections (terms of office five years). These officials, except in the last case, hold office during the mayor's term. The heads of departments appoint all subordinate officers and clerks, and may remove or suspend them by a written order giving their reasons. Municipal officers may be impeached in the Court of Common Pleas and removed from office by the decision of the same court. Councils may not interfere with the executive functions of the mayor or heads of departments. These are the salient features of the new charter. The people now have no excuse for tolerating a bad administration. All the heads of departments are responsible

either through the mayor or directly to the electors. The most important public functions (the police power, health department, and public works) are under the direct control of the mayor. The assessment and collection of taxes is ordered by the legislative body, who are in charge of the business concerns of the city corporation. We have in the new charter something approaching the ideal of city government laid down in Stein's great municipal ordinance of 1808. Both as a history and as a plea for the new charter this work is admirable. The introduction consists of an interesting essay on early local government in Pennsylvania. There are also brief accounts of the governments of Brooklyn, New York, Boston, Baltimore, St. Louis, Chicago, and San Francisco. The text of the Bullitt Bill is given in full. The book is thoroughly indexed, and the type, paper and binding are excellent.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THE PRESIDENT ASKS UNIFORM CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

[From the Baltimore Sun.]

WASHINGTON, *March 30*.—The President has sent the following letter to the Civil Service Commission, recommending an extension of the limits of the classified service:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *March 21*, 1888.

To the United States Civil Service Commission.

Gentlemen:—I desire to make a suggestion regarding subdivision C, general rule 3, of the amended civil service rules, promulgated February 2, 1888. It provides for the promotion of an employe in a department who is below or outside of the classified service, to a place within said classified service in the same department, upon the request of the appointing officer, upon the recommendation of the Commission and approval of the President, after a non-competitive examination, in case such person has served continuously for two years in the place from which it is proposed to promote him, and "because of his faithfulness and efficiency in the position occupied by him, and because of his qualifications for the place to which the appointing officer desires his promotion."

It has occurred to me that this provision must be executed with caution to avoid the application of it to cases not intended and the undue relaxation of the general purposes and restrictions of the civil service law.

Non-competitive examinations are the exceptions to the plan of the act, and the rules permitting the same should be strictly construed. The cases arising under the exception above recited should be very few, and when presented they should precisely limit all the requirements specified, and should be supported by facts which will develop the basis and reason of the application of the appointing officer, and which will commend them to the judgment of the Commission and the President. The sole purpose of the provision is to benefit the public service, and it should never be permitted to operate as an evasion of the main feature of the law, which is competitive examinations.

As these cases will first be presented to the Commission for recommendation, I have to request that you will formulate a plan by which their merits can be tested. This will naturally involve a statement of all the facts deemed necessary for the determination of such applications, including the kind of work which has been done by the person proposed for promotion, and the considerations upon which the allegations of the "faithfulness," "efficiency," and "qualifications" mentioned in the rule are predicated.

What has already been written naturally suggests another very important subject, to which I invite your attention.

The desirability of the rule which I have commented upon would be nearly if not entirely removed, and other difficulties which now embarrass the execution of the civil service law would be obviated, if there was a better and uniform classification of the employes in the different departments. The importance of this is entirely obvious. The present imperfect classifications, hastily made, apparently with but little

care for uniformity, and promulgated after the last presidential election and prior to the installation of the present administration, should not have been permitted to continue until this time. It appears that in the War Department the employees were divided on the 19th day of November, 1884, into eight classes and sub-classes, embracing those earning annual salaries from nine hundred dollars to two thousand dollars. The Navy Department was classified November 22, 1884, and its employees were divided into seven classes and sub-classes, embracing those who received annual salaries from seven hundred and twenty dollars to eighteen hundred dollars. In the Interior Department the classification was made on the 6th day of December, 1884. It consists of eight classes and sub-classes and embraces employees receiving annual salaries from seven hundred and twenty dollars to two thousand dollars. On the 22d day of January, 1885, a classification of the employees in the Treasury Department was made, consisting of six classes and sub-classes, including those earning annual salaries from nine hundred dollars to eighteen hundred dollars. In the Postoffice Department the employees were classified on the 6th day of February, 1885, into nine classes and sub-classes, embracing persons earning annual salaries from seven hundred and twenty dollars to two thousand dollars. On the 12th day of December, 1884, the Bureau of Agriculture was classified in a manner different from all the other departments and presenting features peculiar to itself.

It seems that the only classification in the Department of State and the Department of Justice is that provided for by section 163 of the Revised Statutes, which directs that the employees in the several departments shall be divided into four classes. It appears that no more definite classification has been made in these departments.

I wish the Commission would revise these classifications and submit to me a plan which will as far as possible make them uniform, and which will especially remedy the present condition, which permits persons to enter a grade in the service in the one department without any examination, which in another department can only be entered after passing such examination. This, I think, should be done by extending the limits of the classified service rather than by contracting them.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

In response to an inquiry as to the views and proposed action of the Commission upon the suggestions of the President, one of the Commissioners said to-day that the views of the Commission are in full accord with those of the President in the matters referred to in his letter, and that the Commission would advise a uniform classification which shall include and bring within the jurisdiction of the Commission every person in the departmental service of the Government except such as are appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and persons employed merely as laborers and workmen. Under the new rules, however, there will be excepted from the examination which this classification implies certain private secretaries, custodians of money, disbursing officers, secret service employes, chief clerks and chiefs of divisions. It is probable that in each of the departments there may also be found a very few other places which the Commissioners believe should be excepted from the rule requiring competitive examination, such, perhaps, as required peculiar technical knowledge. These exceptions will be made only after a thorough and critical investigation by the heads of the several departments as to the particular needs of each. This comprehensive classification, the Commission believes, will remove any liability to abuse of the rule, mentioned by the President, permitting appointing officers, under certain circumstances, to promote persons in the unclassified service to the classified service without competitive examination, and it will also prevent, the Commission believes, abuses of the law that occur whenever a gross sum is appropriated to be used in the employment of persons to do particular clerical work. When such an appropriation is made the claim is usually set up that appointments under it may be made without examination; that all such appointments are to places below the classified service. When a classification such as has been suggested by the President and is recommended by the Commission in its forthcoming report,

has been made, such a claim, it is said, cannot be made, for the reason that there will be no places below the classified service.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TARIFF REFORM AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

BALTIMORE, March 25, 1888.

To the Editor of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER.

Sir:—There appears to be a very close resemblance between the modes of thought of believers in protective tariff and advocates of the spoils system of government. If this resemblance be found to exist, it will follow as a consequence that many of our good Maryland Democrats do not really differ from their Republican brethren, whose political ideas and aims they affect to condemn, on the one great question which is generally regarded as distinguishing the parties.

My thesis is this: Democratic spoilsmen, quite as much as Republican protectionists, believe, and some of them sincerely believe, in the theory of governmental protection in a field in which it is most indefensible and least beneficial. They believe that it is the duty of Government to create employment where the interest of the public could readily and advantageously dispense with it. The Republican believes in protection to the laborer; the Democratic spoilsman in protection to the political worker. Both believe that the ordinary distributive law of supply and demand is inadequate to furnish employment to all. Both believe in taxation of all for the benefit of a few, and also that it is for the benefit of all that they should be so taxed. Both pretend to believe that a community can become rich and prosperous by picking its own pockets, or rather, to come a little closer to the way in which it appears to them, they think it redounds to the interest of all that everybody should enlist in one of the vast political armies, and, in the event of overcoming the enemy, should proceed to despoil him. So that instead of every man picking his own pocket, we have every man, according to their theory, getting some one else to pick it for him. Neither the protectionist nor the spoilsman seems to see that the only way for the state or nation honestly to prosper is for every individual to grow prosperous honestly. Their mental attitude is dishonest, for they not only desire to reap the fruits of others' labor, but they steadfastly and continuously attempt to do so. Useless offices, like unnecessary tariff duties, can only be maintained by stifling the popular will, and their maintenance therefore cannot be democratic; both substitute strife and discord for that harmony and accord which are necessary to real democratic prosperity and progress.

I have endeavored to show that the desire to advance the fortunes of the Democratic party at the expense of the citizens is closely analogous to that of benefitting the American manufacturers at the expense of the American consumers.

If we allow that there is a large class of well-disposed Democrats holding protectionist views on the subject of offices, believing that the spoils system is the only correct system of government, in fact never having dreamed of any other, the question arises, How does this inconsistency and obfuscation come about? Are our political leaders dishonest or their followers stupid? Probably both.

H.

JUDGE MORRIS AND THE ELECTION OF THE LOCAL INSPECTOR OF HULLS.

THE selection of Captain John H. Cooper as local inspector of hulls of steam vessels to succeed Mr. Levi Valentine, after Captain W. F. Carter had been regularly and formally chosen at a previous meeting of the board of designators, was one of those supreme acts of "bossism" which can only befall a community wholly given over to the spoils system, and only be countenanced by an administration largely indifferent to its dignity and duty. In some respects this last indecent act of the present National Administration in Maryland has not been surpassed. The following letter from Judge Thomas A. Morris, of the United States District Court, to Collector Groome explains his connection with it:

Dear Sir:—I have your letter containing notice that by direction of the Secretary of the Treasury you have convened the board of

designators provided by section 4415 of the United States Revised Statutes to meet to-day to designate a local inspector of hulls for the district of Baltimore, *vice* Levi Valentine, resigned. I am surprised at the notice, for the reason that only a few weeks ago I received a similar notice by direction of the Secretary through Supervising Inspector Parks, and attended the meetings of the board, until after careful consideration of all the applicants and the qualifications required by the act of Congress, a majority of the board (the supervising inspector concurring) did select and designate Captain W. F. Carter to fill the vacant inspectorship, and so reported to the meeting. I have never heard that any action has been taken upon that designation. I have never heard from any one that Captain Carter was not in every way a most suitable person to fill the vacancy, and can only conjecture that the Secretary of the Treasury does not intend to approve of him from the fact that he has again convened the board to go over the same work and select another man. Several months ago the board, consisting of the then supervising inspector, Mr. Curran, the collector of customs, and the district judge, was convened, by direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the purpose of selecting a local inspector of boilers for the district. At the first meeting Mr. Curran announced that he was directed by the Secretary to present the name of but one applicant. By vote the Secretary was requested to send to the board all the applications which had been received. After a thorough examination of all the applicants, consuming several weeks, the one who passed the best examination and from his experience, attainments, habits, and character was thought by a majority of the board (including the supervising inspector) to be the most suitable person was designated, and was reported to the Secretary.

No action, to my knowledge, has ever been taken on that designation, although I have never heard it questioned that the person so selected was a suitable person for the position. The present convening of the board only a few days after the recent selection of an inspector of hulls, and the substitution of the inspector-general in the place of Inspector Parks who is sick, and the fate of the designation made by the board in the matter of inspector of boilers, has led me to consider whether the act of Congress which has so carefully provided that a majority of the board (the supervising inspector concurring) shall select and designate the person to fill the vacancy, is being really carried into effect. The selection of the local inspectors who are to enforce the regulations of steam vessels was obviously considered of the highest importance, and the act of Congress provides, with unusual particularity, in what manner they are to be selected, and the purpose is evident in every line of the law relating to that subject, that a majority of the board of designators shall select them, and not the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury is given power of approval, and consequently of disapproval, but if that power should be exercised to disapprove selection after selection until the list of applicants is reduced to the one favored by the Secretary, then the law is not obeyed and the intention of Congress is frustrated. The public interests at stake in the safety of navigation are so great, that I should never grudge any time and attention necessary to conscientiously perform the important duty imposed upon me by the law as one of the board, but if that painstaking labor leads to no result unless a particular man is selected, then it is a farcical performance. It is cruelly unjust to those who are applicants, and it is unbecoming in one to participate in it. In participating in the deliberations of the board only a few days ago which resulted in the designation of Captain Carter to fill the vacant inspectorship, I conceive that I have done my whole duty with regard to the appointment, and I cannot see that my presence at the newly constituted board would be useful.

APPLICATION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO THE INDIAN SERVICE.

[From Report of Indian Rights Association.]

THE Association has steadily continued its agitation of the question of reform in the Indian Service. The object aimed at has been to secure the adoption of some system by which applicants for the position of agents and their subordinates upon the Indian reservations shall be selected for merit and not for political professions. The Association is of the opinion that an application of the Civil Service rules to the Indian Service, which application is within the President's power, will be the most effectual remedy for the present evils. Accordingly a letter was addressed to the President, by the Executive Committee of the Association, asking for such an extension of the rules. Brief reference was at the same time made to existing abuses resulting from the supremacy of the spoils system in the Indian Bureau. This letter, accompanied by a detailed statement of certain cases of bad appointment and removal, was personally placed in the hands of the President, by Prof. Painter, in the month of February. In the meanwhile a systematic agitation of the subject was continued by the Corresponding Secretary of the Association through the medium of public addresses and

the press. No response of any kind having been received from the President up to the past autumn, and the abuses in the service continuing, a committee of the Association, composed of Messrs. Philip C. Garrett, Clement M. Biddle, and Robert Frazer, visited the President in the month of November, in order to ascertain definitely his position in the matter. The President stated to the committee that he had given the subject at issue serious consideration, and had consulted Mr. Oberly, of the Civil Service Commission, regarding the feasibility of the reform proposed by our Association. It was Mr. Oberly's opinion that it was within the power of the President to extend the rules, and that it was desirable that he should do so. The President concurred in the opinion that he was competent to exercise this power. He further stated that in the future, whoever might be at the head of the Indian Bureau, he would consider himself directly responsible for the character of the appointments made in the service. During this interview no attempt was made on the part of the President to question the correctness of the assertion made by the Association that grave abuses existed in relation to appointments and removals, and a distinct assurance was given by him that steps of some kind would be taken to effect an improvement in that regard. It was felt by the committee that a tangible success had been gained in this admission of the existence of the evil and the promise of its reformation.

In connection with this subject, the following extract from the *New York Sun* of Nov. 11th, 1887, is interesting:

"Officials of the Indian Office were asked to-day what they had to say to the suggestion that the Civil Service rules should be applied to the Indian Service. The reply was that there is a more perfect system of reform in making appointments in the service than exists in any other branch of the Government. 'It is true that Democrats are invariably selected,' said the official, 'but when an appointment is made the appointee is told very plainly that there are a great many things required of him. He is given an idea of his duty, and he is informed that if he is to retain his place he must fulfil those duties to the letter. If he fails after reaching his post he is dismissed, and he is compelled to pay his own expenses to and from the station. This generally insures efficiency, as the idea of paying the cost of transportation to the Pacific coast and back again is not attractive to applicants who want these places. The result of the system has been to greatly improve the character of the employes, and it is difficult to see where any application of the Civil Service rules of the Commission could be made to the advantage of the Indian Service.'"

It will be seen from the above utterances of the Bureau that two simple methods have been adopted to secure the improvement in the service which the officials of the Indian Office claim has been effected. 1st. The moral lecture—telling an appointee that he must fulfil his duty and do what is right. 2d. That if he fails so to do he must pay his own expenses home from the shores of the Pacific. The absurdity of seriously claiming that an efficient service has resulted from the first of these puerile regulations is so great as scarcely to deserve a reply. Is an agent, a school superintendent, a teacher, a physician, a chief clerk, farmer or blacksmith to be made efficient and valuable by being told that he ought to be so? Does the moral lecture of twenty minutes, or an hour, reform the character of the drunkard, the ballot-box stuffer, the convicted defrauder and defaulter, who is to enjoy the bounty of federal patronage? Will it confer a knowledge of the management of men, of book-keeping and accounts, of medicine, of teaching, of carpentry and agriculture upon men whose past lives have not given them experience in these pursuits? The second claim of the Bureau, that the fears of incurring the expense of a long journey will secure efficiency and character, on the part of an appointee, is scarcely less foolish than the first, but this claim does not require any reply until the Bureau can, with truth, assert that it is a rule which is seriously acted upon.

The committee proposes to continue its agitation of this reform on the lines heretofore marked out.

It may not be amiss to cite one or two instances, from among a multitude of cases within the knowledge of the

Association, illustrative of the present condition of the service and of the necessity for reform.

Mr. J. B. Harrison, during his journey to the Indian reservations of the Northwest, in the summer of 1886, visited the Government Indian Boarding School at Yainax, on the Klamath Reserve, in Southern Oregon. This school was at that time under the care of Mr. William T. Leeke, formerly for eight years a professor in Ashland College, at Ashland, Oregon, and for some time president of that institution. Mr. Harrison bears the strongest testimony to the admirable and efficient manner in which Mr. Leeke and his assistants were conducting their school at Yainax, and to the success which they had attained in their efforts to bring a knowledge of civilization and Christianity to the Indian children committed to their care. In his "Latest Studies on Indian Reservations," (p. 116) Mr. Harrison says: "There is but one thing that would justify the removal of Mr. Leeke from his place at the head of this school. That would be his selection, at some future time, for the highest place connected with the Indian educational work of the country. That is a place which by his natural qualities, varied training, and long experience he would be well qualified to fill."

So much was Mr. Harrison impressed with the importance of Mr. Leeke's retention, that he wrote, subsequently, to the Indian Commissioner, acquainting him with the result of his personal observations in the matter, and urging the retention of Mr. Leeke in the service, upon the ground of his proved ability and success as an educator of Indian youth.

During the past summer, Mr. Leeke's term having expired, he was not reappointed, and thus a man of acknowledged skill, experience and high character was lost to the service. Prof. Painter, during his recent visit to the Indian Territory, found Government Boarding Schools where as many as five successive superintendents had served in one year.

The Indian Bureau published in the columns of the New York *Evening Post*, November 15th, 1886, under the caption, "A Vigorous Application of Reform Methods—No Changes on Political Grounds," certain statements which sound strangely to one who has read an account of Prof. Painter's investigation of the condition of the Indian schools in the Indian Territory. The Bureau, in the article already referred to, says: "The school service has now a corps of employes better than it ever before had." Prof. Painter, speaking of his visit during the past summer, says: "Prof. Gordon, superintendent of the school, which is detached

from Agency control, is wholly unfit for his position. He sent the children home (during the winter) with the measles broken out on them, and many of them—the clerk says 40 out of 85, the doctor says 30—died; some of them on their mothers' backs, before they could be gotten home." Of the Ponca School, Prof. Painter says: "The superintendent is not fitted for his position, neither is his wife qualified to teach. The school was very poor indeed." Prof. Painter gives elsewhere in this report the conclusions which he drew from his extended observations among other schools in the Territory.

The extended and careful investigations of the Association all point to the fact that, while high character and the efficient performance of duty are no protection from loss of position to those men who received their places under a previous Administration, neither are character and efficiency essential to those who, as adherents of the dominant political party, are sent out to fill the vacancies. That a man has been zealous and useful as a political partisan, and can plead the friendship of a powerful politician, is often sufficient to secure for him a Government position on a reservation, and to enable him to hold it, even though his unfitness may be clearly proved. During the past summer an agent of the Association met upon one of the reservations of the Northwest a man who had been sent out by the Bureau as a farmer, and who was manifestly unsuited to his position. He had previously been sent to another point in the Indian country, where his incapacity led, not to his dismissal from the service, but to his transfer to another part of the field. When questioned as to his previous occupation, and as to the circumstances leading to his appointment, he stated, that while he had owned a farm, he had not worked it, but had engaged in the manufacture of sausage; he had secured his position by "whooping her up," as he expressed it, at the last election, spending his time freely in driving from point to point to carry persons to political meetings, etc. Should it be asked why the agent in charge did not complain of this man and secure his removal, it may be answered that, as previous complaints of former incompetents had only resulted in this man's appointment, but little improvement could be hoped for from following that course. One of the farmers appointed previously at this reservation was a man 79 years of age, who had been a soldier in three wars, who was addicted to the use of liquor, and who for that reason, and on account of advanced age, was entirely incapable of active work.

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THE MONTH.

THE new classification for the departments appears to be an important step towards the complete application of the merit system. In the Post Office Department, for example, the rules now cover all persons receiving salaries of not less than \$720 per annum, or more than \$2000 per annum, as well as Post Office Inspectors, and the agents and employes at the postal note, stamp, and envelope agencies. The subordinates of the Architect of the Treasury Department, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Coast Survey and the new Labor Department are also included in the classified service. It is somewhat unfortunate that the Government Printing Office was not also included. These extensions of the rules, in the words of the last report of the Civil Service Commission, will cause them to operate uniformly upon all parts of the classified departmental service, and will hush the clamorous demands for unclassified places that hitherto filled the ears of the appointing officers.

THE well known Indiana Mugwump, Mr. Wm. D. Foulke, has announced in the *Tribune* his intention of deserting Mr. Cleveland and supporting the Republican nominee for the Presidency. One reason he gives for this course is the bad appointments of the President in Indiana and Maryland, which he thinks have done civil service reform more injury than the most "flagrant spoilsman" could have done. He quotes from Senator Harrison the following remarks which seem to him satisfactory evidence of the good intention of the Republican candidate. The first extract is from a speech made in 1882:

I want to assure you to-night that I am an advocate of civil service reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens, and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to those public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trusts which you have committed to me.

The second, apropos of the disgraceful condition of the Indiana benevolent institutions under a Democratic régime, is as follows:

"Have politics become so bestial that out of the misery and care of the insane, low men shall be allowed to coin party advantage? I do not know a sadder thing; death is not so sad. We are entitled to know that the men and the women who have the care of these unfortunate ones have been selected not on account of their politics, but on account of their experience and their kind and humane dispositions. How utterly at the mercy of lust and cruelty the insane are! When they come into a court of justice to tell of brutality and outrage, the answer is, they are insane. Defenceless, except as we resolve, fellow-citizens, that the next Legislature that meets in Indiana shall be pledged to the duty of putting every one of our benevolent institutions upon an intelligent, non-partisan, civil service basis. So that it shall never again be asked when a man or woman applies for service in one of these institutions, 'What are your politics?'—so that the most careful scrutiny into their antecedent history and their fitness for the delicate duties they have to discharge shall determine the question of their appointment."

But, apparently suspecting that the case is hardly made out, Mr. Foulke adds:

"But beyond all these expressions or his recorded acts, I feel for one, and I know that others feel the same, that there is much in the uprightness and absolute integrity of the man himself upon which we can rely even more than upon his public record. He will probably not promise so much as Mr. Cleveland did. He certainly ought not, and I am sure that he will accomplish infinitely more."

We must say that we should require some further proof before we could commit ourselves. We should like, for example, to have an explicit promise from Mr. Harrison that, if he is elected, he will make no removals merely for political reasons, in the purely administrative offices.

THE election of Mr. "Josh" Plaskitt by the Public School Commissioners to the position of librarian of the Public School Library is typical of the way "politics" run the public school system. "Josh" is the next door neighbor of "Sonny" Mahon, the boss of the Ninth Ward, and for many years has represented that statesman upon the School Board and distributed for him the patronage of the schools. But this office, however honorable, is not salaried, and Josh, having reached middle life, has lately been looking around for a comfortable berth at good wages in which to rest after his labors. His eye having fallen upon the position of librarian, he determined to establish himself there. This office, with a salary of nine hundred dollars per annum, is almost a sinecure; for the library, located in the City College, is a miscellaneous collection of little more than three thousand books, seldom made use of by any one. It is estimated that not more than three volumes per day are taken from the room, and few persons ever go there to read; so that all the duties of the librarian might be performed by one or two of the upper boys of the college with some supervision by a teacher. Nine hundred dollars is a great sum to pay for such work as the place involves, and when first given it was as a pension to an old teacher worn out with long and faithful service. Indeed, at the time of Plaskitt's election the incumbent was a superannuated pedagogue, more than eighty years of age, who had been placed there to end his worthy life in modest comfort. But this old gentleman has now been turned out to beg, and through an intrigue with some of his fellow members of the School Board, particularly Mr. Wentz, Mr. Commissioner Plaskitt has now become librarian. Whatever excuse there was for the existence of the salary of nine hundred dollars has thus been taken away, for, however valuable to the powers Mr. Plaskitt's aid in carrying the Ninth Ward, he certainly has no claim upon the school fund. The affair will not, however, be without advantage to the public schools, for we have hopes that, with that delicate sense of propriety characteristic of him, "Josh" will now resign his commissionership, and the city ought to be glad to pay nine hundred dollars a year to get this typical spoilsman out of so important a position.

It has often been charged in this community, but we know not with what truth, that the United States customs officers made discriminations in favor of New York sugar importers;

and the rapid and complete decline of the sugar industry in this city has been attributed to that cause alone. These charges were made with great pertinacity when Mr. Sherman was Secretary of the Treasury, but interest in them has been revived lately by the bitter controversy now pending between the present Secretary and Mr. Jas. Burt, of New York, portions of whose letters on this subject we print elsewhere. The latter gentleman seems to us to have rather the best of the argument as to that particular matter; and Mr. Fairchild's references to the conduct of the New York Association were evidently due to an entire lack of correct knowledge. Says Mr. Curtis in a recent number of *Harper's Weekly*:

"The Secretary's letter seems to us to have been written prematurely, without knowledge of the testimony, and with complete misunderstanding of the position of the Reform Association. No one who knows him will doubt for a moment his upright purpose, his resolution to do his duty, and his sincere desire practically to advance reform. His natural annoyance with what may have seemed to him, although without reason, the mistaken zeal of his associates and friends, probably explains the sharp and almost bitter sarcasm of certain passages of his letter. But a Secretary of the Treasury is obviously much more exposed to the tricks and wiles of interested deceivers than a body like the Reform Association. The illicit purposes of others are skilfully represented to him as efforts for purer administration, and every circumstance is readily distorted to that end. With a public officer of the highest character and of unquestionable ability and patriotic purpose the Reform Association can have no difference. Had the Secretary seen the testimony, had he clearly comprehended the position of the Association, and thoroughly sifted the suspicions of sugar frauds in the Appraiser's Department, his letter, perhaps, would not have been written."

WE fear that the erudite Mr. Thomas C. Weeks, State Labor Statistician, or, as he now prefers to be called, Chief of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics and Information of Maryland, is not properly appreciated. For it seems that the workingmen, in whose sole interest, as Mr. Weeks leads us to infer, his bureau was instituted, have begun to complain that his labors are of little worth. Indeed, the Federation of Labor, if we are rightly informed, has resolved, after discussion, that the only product of the five thousand dollars which our taxpayers have invested in the services of Mr. Weeks during the past two years, namely, his biennial report to the Governor, is mostly bosh.

But in other quarters, if Mr. Weeks himself may be believed, his work is in great and deserved repute. He says:

"In accordance with the instructions of the Legislature of 1886, I caused to be printed and distributed 1600 copies of my report for 1884-5. The edition was not large enough to meet the demand. Copies of the report were sent to nearly all the States of the Union and to nearly all European countries. They were applied for by universities, newspapers, ministers of the Gospel, trades organizations, public officers, librarians, lawyers, statesmen, mechanics, and merchants. It was in demand by all classes and institutions, and to such an extent that I was unable to supply hundreds of applicants with the work. I believe that 8000 copies of *this* report, for general circulation, will not more than supply the demand."

And no wonder that in these days of depressed spirits a work written in the glowing style of this passage is much called for:

"The hope of labor lies in great distribution. There is no necessity to advocate Horace Greeley's theory of 'Go West, young man—go West!'.... A State possessing water-ways like Maryland affords greater opportunities to the man of small capital than do interior States which depend altogether on railroads; and the shores and tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay ought to be alive with a thriving,

enterprising, busy population of small holders, traders and manufacturers. As it is, all our cities are growing in size, especially the metropolis of Baltimore. Young native Americans, crowding in from the farms of Maryland and Virginia, boarding out and scrambling for a poor living as clerks and bookkeepers, and maintaining a precarious gentility. Foreign immigration, all settling down in the back streets, the majority working by the piece, long hours for poor pay, living in tenement houses without much regard for health and less for comfort, while a vast acreage of our territory grows up in rushes and brush and pine and sassafras, the home of the wild game, the delight of the sportsman, but tending to the impoverishment of the State."

Doubtless universities, ministers of the Gospel, newspapers, trades organizations, public officers, librarians, lawyers, statesmen, mechanics, and merchants, to use the comprehensive phrase of the State Labor Statistician, would also cry aloud for the chunks of statistics cut at second hand from the Census and the reports of Mr. Carroll D. Wright, which enable Mr. Weeks to fill a good many of his 170 pages. And doubtless too they will all join their voices in this encomium which the worthy and modest "Chief of Bureau" passes upon himself:

"It is not possible, perhaps, to do all at once, but I believe the office has gained the confidence of both employer and employe, who are assured of its affairs being conducted in a proper and conservative manner; and, I trust, the time has now come when the General Assembly may deem it advisable to advance it beyond the experimental stage and permanently enlarge its powers. The large majority of the labor of the State endorses this suggestion. Labor is justified in looking to legislation for assistance. Surrounded as we are in this State with so bountiful a supply of natural products, a man who works has a right to live in comfort, and the law ought to remove all obstacles which may interfere to hinder the workman in the free exercise of his labor."

The application of the concluding words of the above extract will be found in another most interesting and valuable feature of this document, namely, the unique suggestions it offers for increasing the happiness of various portions of our struggling species, as thus:

MUSICIANS.

The musicians represent that their profession is seriously injured by strolling bands which immigrate to this country, and, having no permanent abode, and only their transient expenses, injuriously compete with our resident citizens. The Maryland musicians suggest the imposition of a license on said itinerant musicians such as that imposed in the District of Columbia.

On the whole we are inclined to think that the employment of Mr. Weeks at a salary of \$2500 a year may be taken as a remarkable instance of the adoption by our progressive Legislature of the principle of the endowment of research entirely irrespective of any immediate pecuniary return, which scientific men now urge so strongly. And we think any State might well invest that amount and four or five times as much for printing if it could be certain of obtaining such valuable results as follow Mr. Weeks' investigations of strikes, namely:

"I am not prepared, however, as the result of some experience and observation, to undervalue the moral effect of strikes. We have to pay sometimes for the maintenance of principle. To this end the race has paid the price of blood as well as money, and the fact of the great proportion of these strikes which succeeded, and partly succeeded, to wit, 308 to 66, or 21.42 per cent, suggests that there were many principles involved beyond mere monetary advantages, and which labor fearlessly upheld. Beyond all this there is an unknown factor in the possibilities which might have come except for these strikes, of the worse evils which they may have averted, all of which has properly to be considered in determining the conclusion.

"Statistics lead us to results, but human affairs require an elasticity of judgment which reaches beyond mathematical confines and enters the region of that sentiment which, after all, represents a great part of the human nature involved in labor strikes."

AMONG the notable events of the month is to be reckoned the noble address of Mr. George William Curtis on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, before survivors of both of the armies which contended on that famous field. Its lofty patriotism, finding fit expression in rich, sonorous cadences, entitles it to a permanent place in American literature. We should be glad if the scope of this journal permitted us to reproduce it entire; as it is, we must find room for one or two sentences:

"Patriotism feeds upon local traditions, historic events, and the memories of famous men. But a miscellaneous multitude, sprung of many nations, without a common heart to vibrate instinctively to common memories and associations, would lack that supreme patriotism which is the moral defense of a nation. . . . We are the occupants and guardians of this country, and with a kindly heart and hospitable hand toward all the world, we must prescribe the conditions upon which the world shall come here."

"The suffrage is the mainspring, the heart of our common life, and whatever affects it injuriously, touches the national sensorium and the whole country thrills. . . . If ignorance and semi-barbarous dominance be fatal to civilized communities, not less so is constant and deliberate defiance of law."

THE POWER OF NOLLE PROSEQUI.

AS the action of the present Grand Jury in reporting to the Judge of the Criminal Court that it is their unanimous opinion "that Mr. Charles Kerr in the discharge of his duties as State's Attorney has not abused the powers of that office," has finally disposed of the report of its predecessor in so far as the possibility of its being made the basis of any legal proceedings against Mr. Kerr is concerned, the case stands now in such a position that we may without impropriety offer some observations concerning the manner in which the power of *nolle prosequi* seems to be now exercised in this city.

The facts out of which the report of the Grand Jury arose were as follows: The Grand Jury for the January term, in making its final report to the Criminal Court on May 12, 1888, called attention to the fact that of the 771 indictments found by it during the term, 621 had been disposed of, and that of these last, 291, or 47 per cent, had been "*nolle prossed*," and expressed the opinion that this disposition of the cases brought before their body indicated a looseness in the administration of criminal justice which could not but be prejudicial to the public welfare, and called for an investigation with a view to determining whether or not the exercise of the power to dispose of so large a percentage of criminal cases by *nolle pros.* is judiciously exercised in the interest of justice. After this report had been submitted, Mr. Kerr addressed to the Judge of the Criminal Court a communication by way of answer to this report, in which he sets forth what he considers the "scope and purpose of the power of *nolle pros.* given to the public prosecutor," and "how distinctly it has been relieved from the interference of the Grand Jury, or even from objection by the Judge," contending that the State's Attorney is clothed with exclusive authority to dismiss a criminal prosecution before trial, and that a duty is at the same time imposed upon him to inquire into circumstances and listen to appeals to his judgment and common

sense, and *sometimes, perhaps, to his sympathy.*" He also says: "Recognizing further the right and duty of the Grand Jury to inquire whether I abuse my power, I shall at the same time never permit that body to determine for me what cases I shall *nolle pros.*, or in any way interrupt the honest exercise of my discretion." By way of justifying his course in the action of this discretion he appended to this answer a statement giving the reasons for entering a *nolle prosequi* in the 282 cases which he said were all the indictments found at the January term that had been thus disposed of, and requested the Court to direct his answer and the accompanying statement to be referred along with the report of the late Grand Jury to the new body then about to be convened. Judge Phelps, in his charge to the new Grand Jury, when submitting these papers to them stated his view of the law to be "that the discretionary power to abandon a prosecution by entering a *nolle prosequi* was of necessity confided to the State's Attorney, an officer elected by the people and responsible to them as well as to the law for any abuse of the trust," and told them that the question for their examination would be "not as to the illegal usurpation of a power not delegated, but as to the abuse of a legal discretion to such an extent and of such a character as to amount in your opinion to either 'incompetency, wilful neglect of duty, or misdemeanor in office.' (Constitution, Art. 5, sec. 7)." The new Grand Jury, being thus charged, made the report above referred to, in which they say that while they find the presentments made by the last Grand Jury to have been disposed of substantially as stated in its report, they were unanimously of the opinion that Mr. Kerr had not abused the powers of his office.

Now we think it must at once appear to any one that this power of *nolle prosequi* as claimed by Mr. Kerr and conceded by Judge Phelps, is a tremendous one to be put into the hands of any one man, and is liable to afford abundant opportunities for the gravest abuses. Practically it amounts to this: that after the Grand Jury has found indictments it rests absolutely within the discretion of the State's Attorney whether he shall or shall not prosecute any one or more of them to trial. Beyond the restraints imposed by his own sense of duty, the only check placed upon his exercise of this discretion is the knowledge that flagrant abuse of it may, if publicly known, result in his failure to secure a re-election when his term of office shall expire, or if it be of such a character as to sustain an indictment by the Grand Jury for "incompetency, wilful neglect of duty, or misdemeanor in office," he may on conviction thereof be removed from his position. It would seem that the exercise of this discretion has, as Mr. Kerr claims, been "relieved from the interference of the Grand Jury, or even from objection by the Judge," unless it can be shown that there has been such criminal abuse of it as to warrant an indictment for "incompetency, wilful neglect of duty, or misdemeanor in office." And if it be held, as Mr. Kerr claims, that the State's Attorney must, in deciding whether or not to exercise this discretionary power, listen to appeals, "*sometimes perhaps to his sympathy,*" we can easily see how extremely difficult it would be under any circumstances to establish by competent legal proof such a case of the abuse by a State's Attorney of the power of *nolle prosequi* as would warrant his conviction under the clause of the constitution referred to. For if Mr. Kerr may lawfully enter a *nolle prosequi* to an indictment because of his personal sympathy for the accused or his relatives, why may not his successor in office do likewise whenever he feels

a strong political sympathy for the accused or his associates? That great demoralization in the administration of criminal justice would follow the adoption of such a course is too plain for discussion; but while it might perhaps endanger his reelection, it could hardly be expected to result in any State's Attorney being convicted of, or even being indicted for, "incompetency, wilful neglect of duty, or misdemeanor in office."

The courts have held that in exercising this power of *nolle prosequi* the State's Attorney should always be "controlled by well settled principles of law and practice, and a sound legal discretion," and experience has abundantly shown that the best way to guard against abuses in the exercise of discretionary powers of this character is to require the officer exercising the discretion to state publicly the grounds upon which his action is predicated. This is the course generally pursued by all judges in most civilized countries whenever they may have occasion to exercise a discretion imposed upon them by law. When George R. Richardson was Attorney-General of Maryland it was his invariable practice whenever he entered a *nolle prosequi* in any case to announce the fact in open court, and then and there to state his reasons for not prosecuting the indictment further. That this is the proper course for a prosecuting officer to adopt is shown by the fact that in several of the States it is provided by statute, and in others it is established as a rule of practice, independently of any statute, that a *nolle prosequi* can only be entered by leave of the court. Of course the public prosecutor in order to obtain such leave would have to tell the judge the grounds upon which he asked for it. Mr. Kerr is certainly entitled to commendation for having, as he states in his answer, "several years ago instituted a practice never before known in the office, of filing a formal *nolle prosequi* signed officially and stating the ground or reason for dismissing a case"; but he would have done much better had he gone a step farther and revived the practice of Richardson, by stating at the time in open court his reasons for entering *nolle prosequi*, instead of simply noting those reasons upon a paper to be filed with the clerk, which no one would ever know about who had not some special reason for investigating that particular case. We trust that Mr. Kerr may, upon further reflection, revive a practice which should never have fallen into disuse.

The importance of giving publicity to the reasons for which entries of *nolle prosequi* are made is shown by the fact that the statement accompanying Mr. Kerr's answer has demonstrated the extent to which a most reprehensible practice is still followed in his office. We refer to the habit of dismissing criminal cases simply upon the request of the prosecuting witness—a relic of barbarism which has apparently survived from the days when the laws of England allowed that species of criminal prosecution technically known as an appeal, which Blackstone defines as "an accusation by a private subject against another for some heinous crime, demanding punishment on account of the particular injury suffered rather than for the offence against the public." A peculiarity of this private process (which probably had its origin in those times when a private pecuniary satisfaction was paid to the party injured or his relatives, in expiation of criminal offences) was that the accused, after conviction thereunder, could not be pardoned, nor could his punishment be remitted by the king, but only by the parties who prosecuted the appeal. This is of course entirely at variance with the spirit of our law, which recognizes but

two parties to criminal proceedings, viz. the State and the person charged with having violated its laws, and consequently in Maryland a request from the prosecuting witness to the State's Attorney for a *nolle prosequi* is entitled to no greater consideration than an application from any other private citizen. And yet, in Mr. Kerr's statement it appears that he entered *nolle prosequi* in 82 of the indictments found at the January term, at the request of the prosecuting witnesses. Of these indictments, 62 were for larceny, 5 for obtaining money under false pretences, 2 for forgeries, 1 for embezzlement, 11 for assault with intent to kill, and 1 for disturbing the public peace. The 34 cases of simple assaults dismissed at request of the parties assaulted are not included in the above list, because there is a special statute authorizing this particular class of cases to be compromised under certain circumstances. As to these 82 indictments thus disposed of, the Grand Jury say that the letters of the prosecuting witnesses were filed in court, and that a number of these persons who were summoned before them testified "not only that the letters were genuine, but were given voluntarily, and generally without solicitation."

Now if this be, as both Mr. Kerr and the Grand Jury appear to assume, a sufficient cause of itself for entering a *nolle prosequi*, it certainly shows "a great looseness in the administration of criminal justice." For then all that any criminal need do to escape prosecution is to bribe the prosecuting witness to write a letter to the State's Attorney, in attempting which he would run no risk whatever, for offering money or other reward to a prosecuting witness for such a purpose would not come within any of the statutes against bribery. The very statute authorizing the compromise of assault and battery cases with the consent of the court, by clear implication forbids the compromise of other criminal charges under any circumstances whatsoever, and as a matter of fact we know that the majority of cases in which the prosecuting witnesses apply to have a *nolle prosequi* entered are prosecutions originally started, not for the purpose of punishing crime, but with the object of extorting money from the accused or his relatives. Such are the cases, for instance, where an employee misappropriates the funds of his employer and the latter forthwith goes before the Grand Jury to have him indicted for larceny or embezzlement, in the hope that his family, to escape the disgrace of his imprisonment, will among them raise enough money to make good all losses; and this being paid over to the prosecuting witness, he at once "voluntarily and without solicitation" writes a letter asking the State's Attorney to enter a *nolle prosequi* to the indictment. It will therefore at once be seen that the principal difference between this proceeding and the compounding of a felony is, that here, by making the State's officers a party to it, the prosecuting witness manages, like Sir Andrew Aguecheek, to "keep o' the windy side of the law." It is due to Mr. Kerr, however, to say that we have no reason to believe his administration of the office of State's Attorney any more open to criticism in this particular than those of his predecessors, but the fact that an existing abuse of this kind has been of long standing furnishes no excuse for its further toleration.

INDIAN AFFAIRS UNDER THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

IT is four years ago this coming autumn since Mr. John H. Oberly, in a speech before the Lake Mohonk Indian

Conference, said: "You may thank the Lord that a Democratic administration is about to take hold of the Indian question." However much those who heard these words may at that time have felt disposed to join with Mr. Oberly in thanksgiving to the Almighty for the brighter prospect to the Indian which Mr. Cleveland's administration presented, it seems more than probable that their spirits have drooped and their high hopes sunk into at least a partial disappointment as they watched the progress of events. It is true that the disinterested and non-partisan friends of the Indians had much to hope for with the advent of Mr. Cleveland to power. Not only had his previous course, as Governor of New York, been such as to inspire them with confidence in him as a reformer, but his public utterances both on the question of reform in the civil service, and also as to the proper treatment of the Indians, were emphatic and satisfactory. It was felt that he who had declared that public office was a public trust, and that the conscience of the American people demanded the just treatment of the Indians within our borders, and who had also given proof of that courage and force of will necessary to resist the pressure of office-seekers, might be relied upon, not only to preserve such good things in administration as his predecessors in office had attained, but to go far beyond them in developing or instituting reforms which trained and intelligent observers felt were most needed. Never was a finer chance for a President of the United States to make for himself a lasting and noble record in the great work of solving the Indian problem, and to win for himself the gratitude of the best part of the nation. The agitation which for several years preceding Mr. Cleveland's inauguration had turned popular attention to this question, and had inspired sober-minded people for the first time with the belief that the civilization of the Indian was a practical work in which the Government should seriously engage, created the most favorable conditions for the application of that reform to the Indian service of which Mr. Cleveland was naturally regarded as the exponent and champion. Had he played the role to which the popular wish and his own declarations assigned him, while there can be no doubt that would have aroused the indignation of the spoilsmen of his own party, he would have awakened the enthusiastic devotion of a very large number of fair-minded men in both parties.

The confidence of the friends of the Indians in Mr. Cleveland was further strengthened by two conspicuous acts of justice performed early in his administration—the revocation of the executive order of his predecessor, throwing open 500,000 acres of the Crow Creek lands in Dakota to white settlement contrary to the treaty rights of the Indians, and the exclusion of the cattle men from Indian lands in the Indian Territory. In the first of these cases it is worthy of notice that the President's attention was called by the Indian Rights Association to the grave injustice done the Indians by throwing open these lands, and the legal argument upon which the Attorney-General acted, together with the facts upon which that argument rested, were prepared and presented by the officers of that society. This is interesting as showing that the charge of Republican partisanship, subsequently made against the society by the officers of the Indian Bureau, when for their misdeeds they were called to account, was wholly unfounded. High praise was given to President Cleveland, when these events occurred, for the part which he played in them, and for his courageous stand in defence of the rights of the Indian.

It might have been inferred that, having found the representations of the Indian Rights Association trustworthy in so important and critical a case as that of the Crow Creek lands, the President would have heeded its subsequent advice in the matter of appointments and removals in the Indian service. The importance of a business-like and non-partisan administration of Indian affairs, and especially in that portion of the service relating to the reservations, and concerning the control and civilization of the Indians, will be readily admitted by intelligent persons. It is manifest that the great army of spoilsmen, the political boss, the ward "rounder up" and "heeler," the impecunious, illiterate, hungry relative or hanger-on of representative or senator, is not as a rule suitable material with which to effect the education and civilization of the Indian. Previous to President Cleveland's election, through the continued efforts of the friends of the Indians, many very good appointments had been made in the Indian Service. In some instances the meagre salaries of desirable agents were supplemented out of the purses of charitable persons in the east. It was fully believed that in the case of such appointees, whose record had been carefully examined and approved by trustworthy persons, no changes would be made, and, indeed, that all changes would be effected only for cause and with a view to promote the efficiency of the service. But articles in former numbers of this paper have shown how ill founded were all these hopes. Changes have been effected in almost every post upon the reservations; and in the great majority of cases coming under the writer's observation, the new appointees presented a pitiable contrast to the old.

The nature of many of these appointments was forecast by that of Morris A. Thomas, of Baltimore, to an Indian inspectorship. As the personal representations of leading men in that city did not avail with the President for the revocation of this appointment, so were the efforts of the Indian Rights Association to secure the adoption of the only adequate remedy, in view of the many similar subsequent appointments, the extension of the civil service rules, equally fruitless. The administration of Indian affairs under Secretary Lamar, Commissioner Atkins, and Assistant Commissioner Upshaw was conspicuously a spoils administration. The evidence of personal influence in the character of the appointments made lies in the exceptional numbers of appointees from Mississippi and Tennessee. It is but due to Mr. Lamar to say that his intentions toward the Indians were most kindly and high-minded, but his habits were rather those of the student than of the executive officer, and his cast of mind unfitted him for the thorough and rapid execution of the enormous business of his department. But even Mr. Lamar was habituated to the spoils theory of appointment. He permitted the control of Indian affairs and the manipulation of the patronage of the service to fall largely into the hands of Messrs. Atkins and Upshaw, who distributed it in payment of old debts and for the promotion of future ambitions.

When it was found that the protests of the Indian Rights Association against the removal of tried and faithful employes were unavailing with the Indian Bureau and with the President himself, the case was taken to the public through the columns of the newspaper press and the publications of the society. At first, indirect and sneering answers were made to these charges by the Indian Department through the despatches of Washington correspondents of various newspapers in eastern cities, but the charges were never fairly or successfully met, and soon all attempts to refute them were

abandoned. Finally the condition of affairs became so notoriously bad that leading independent papers, whose attitude toward the President was that of advocates or apologists, commented upon these abuses frequently and in severe terms. On two particular occasions the Indian Rights Association made formal representations to the President of the condition of the Indian service, urging him to extend the operation of the civil service rules, and thus, so far as possible, to free it from political partisanship. The society, through its agent, Mr. C. C. Painter, in the winter of 1887, placed a memorial in the President's hands to this effect, supported by a long list of cases of unfortunate removals and bad appointments. As this appeal produced no apparent result, a committee of the society visited the President in the following December, reiterating their previous request and stating definitely in writing the method by which, in their opinion, the rules might be extended. The President asked the committee with some impatience why they did not come to him with something practical—show him good men who would take positions on the reservations for the small salaries offered, or go themselves to fill these positions. To which the committee replied that as they had pointed out to him good men already in those positions, and he had dismissed them, they felt that they had been given a clear intimation that practical suggestions from them were not desired. When the committee stated that in their opinion Assistant Commissioner Upshaw was principally responsible for the bad condition of affairs, the President replied that he had found him an active and efficient officer. The President stated, however, at the conclusion of the interview, that he should thereafter give appointments in the Indian service his personal attention, and intimated that he would consider the question of an extension of the rules. It is due to the President to say that after this interview there was a manifest abatement in the influence exerted by the Commissioner and the Assistant Commissioner in the matter of appointments.

During the winter it became known that Commissioner Atkins intended to resign, and later on his resignation was handed in. Mr. Upshaw, the Assistant Commissioner, desired his place, and the friends of the Indians had reason to fear that a strong influence would be exerted to obtain it for him. To prevent such a catastrophe they have made strenuous efforts, and the President has given positive assurance that the appointment will not be conferred upon Mr. Upshaw.

In relation to the present situation of Indian affairs, the most noticeable and interesting fact is the appointment of Mr. Vilas as Secretary of the Interior when Mr. Lamar passed to the Supreme Bench. The attitude which Mr. Vilas has assumed in Indian management, and toward the Indian Rights Association, is such as to inspire hopes of a greatly improved condition of affairs. He has entered into relations of friendly and cordial co-operation with the Association, and of the sincerity of his intentions he has so far given clear evidence. He has introduced into the Indian Department a prompt and vigorous business management, of which it stood in sore need. The good effects of this change will be more apparent in the future. A signal illustration of non-partisan appointment Mr. Vilas has just given in selecting Captain Pratt and Rev. William J. Cleveland to treat with the Indians of the great Sioux Reservation in Dakota for a cession of a part of their land. Captain Pratt, chairman of the commission, is the superintendent of the great Indian

school at Carlisle. He has long been known to the public as a distinguished champion and pioneer of Indian education in the east, a successful teacher, and a man of disinterested and courageous spirit. Mr. Cleveland was for fifteen years a missionary of the Episcopal Church among the Sioux. He speaks the Dakota language perfectly, and, as his profession would indicate, is a man of pure and lofty character. The third member of the commission, Hon. John V. Wright, of Tennessee, is unknown to the writer. Doubtless his appointment is wise and creditable. Whatever may be the success of the commission in the delicate and difficult work with which it is charged, Mr. Vilas is certainly entitled to high praise, and to cordial thanks from the friends of the Indians, for the choice of men whom he has placed upon it. It is to be hoped that these appointments forecast those of the future under Mr. Vilas's management of Indian affairs, and are a pledge for the gradual introduction of the reform spirit and rules into the Indian service.

As a brief recapitulation it may be said, in conclusion, of Indian affairs under Mr. Cleveland's administration, that no encouragement has been given to unscrupulous schemes for despoiling Indians of their land, and that in the two prominent instances referred to in the beginning of this article, the President showed courageously and decisively his opposition to such attempts. On the other hand it is equally clear that the President has permitted the Indian service to be the prey of thorough-going spoilsmen who have virtually made a clean sweep of the service, introduced into it a large number of incompetent and, in many instances, vicious and criminal persons, so that its personnel, certainly up to very recent date, has been reduced much below the standard of the past administration, and its general efficiency has been very seriously impaired. It is, however, apparent that the exposure of abuses in the service by the Indian Rights Association, while it was long unheeded by the President, has at last awakened his serious attention, and in the accession of Mr. Vilas to the Secretaryship, and so far in his management of Indian affairs, there seems to be ground for hope that the great and wholly unnecessary abuses of the last four years will be rectified. It is a pity that the truth will not permit a more glowing picture to be painted.

HERBERT WELSH.

THE MARYLAND PENITENTIARY WARDEN.

ON the 5th day of June, John F. Weyler, councilman from and "Boss" of the seventeenth ward of the city of Baltimore, was appointed Warden of the Maryland Penitentiary, displacing Gen. John W. Horn. It is of interest to the people of Maryland to know why and how this was brought about, and what has been the official record and public life of the new and the old warden. We purpose to put the facts before the public, notwithstanding that rumors, prevalent at the time of our going to press, indicate that Weyler is proving too strong a dose for even the stomachs of those who think it an outrage and a "sully of the fair fame of our city," to expose the corruption of ring politicians.

Gen. John W. Horn is of Scotch extraction, but has resided in Maryland from childhood. He entered the Union army in 1861 as captain in the Fifth Maryland regiment, but at the request of Governor Bradford, came home to recruit the Sixth Maryland, of which he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel. He soon rose to be Colonel, and served gallantly with his regiment in the Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac. At the battle of Opequan Creek, September 19, 1864, he was dangerously wounded, and for his gallantry on that occasion was breveted Brigadier-General

U. S. Volunteers. In 1867 he was first appointed Warden of the Penitentiary, and held the office to entire satisfaction till 1872. He then directed the construction of the Home of Reformation for colored boys, and was its superintendent for ten years. In 1882 he was reappointed Warden of the Penitentiary, and held the office till June last. Always a staunch Democrat, General Horn has never descended to anything unbecoming a soldier and a gentleman, and hence he has never been liked by our city bosses, although they have never been able to find fault with his management of the prison.

Let us look upon the other portrait, that of the eminent citizen who displaces General Horn. John F. Weyler was at one time a detective, but as such did not win an enviable record. For years he was proprietor of a liquor saloon on Federal Hill, of the type of rum-shops that prevail in that section, and in that capacity got the hold that made him useful to and able to demand rewards from the bosses. He is understood to control the (God save the mark!) "Regular" Democracy of his ward, and for years has been its City Councilman. He is now president of one branch of our City Council, and as such is at times acting Mayor and the official representative of our city on public occasions. The men who killed poor Curran in the 17th Ward were appointed election judges by one of Weyler's retainers and were among his political henchmen. This is the man who displaced a gallant soldier and efficient warden in the responsible post of guardian of the State Prison.

Why was this change made? Governor Jackson is said to have aspirations for the seat of Mr. Wilson in the United States Senate. He looks to Barnes Compton for aid in the contest when it comes. Mr. Compton relies for his majorities largely upon Mr. Weyler's ward, and hence largely upon Mr. Weyler. The wardenship is a good paying office, and one that can be made a very useful part of the machine if its patronage is controlled by Mr. Weyler.

How was General Horn got rid of? The Board of State Prison Directors consists of six members. These are Messrs. John T. Ford, Henry Seim, Francis E. Waters, W. F. Jackson (a brother of the Governor), Thomas N. Moore and Lloyd Jackson. Just before Governor Lloyd went out of office he sent in for confirmation the name of John K. Ober, who had been appointed on the Board *vice* Judge Dennis resigned. Before the name could be acted upon, Governor Jackson withdrew it and sent in the name of Mr. Waters, who was confirmed. This gave the new Governor four personal friends on the Board, and only two members, Messrs. Ford and Seim, withstood the desire to please the powers that be by voting to retain General Horn.

But these abuses sometimes correct themselves. It is now an open secret in political circles that, although Mr. Weyler only assumed the wardenship June 9th, his career in that office has already been of such a character that the gentlemen who appointed him would probably be very loth to do so to-day were the question to be reopened. Is there any good excuse, however, for men of their standing and character, with the light they had, removing such an official as General Horn to give such an important trust into the hands of a man with such a record as that of John F. Weyler? If there is, the people of Maryland are entitled to hear it.

BREATHING SPACES.

IN the last issue of THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORMER I outlined a few reasons why cities should be liberally provided with parks, squares, and other open spaces. The object of this article is to show how the leading cities of our country are equipped in this respect, and what are the particular needs of Baltimore. The facts presented in this and my preceding article are the results of original inquiry, and have already been given to the public in addresses at the Johns Hopkins University, at Boston, and in a monograph published by the American Statistical Association.

The subjoined tables, which give the population of cities, the number and area of their parks and squares, with classification as to size, and the number of inhabitants per acre of

open space, show accurately what provisions the principal urban communities of this country have made.

OPEN SPACES IN AMERICAN CITIES.

City.	Population 1880.	Total number of open spaces.	Total area of open spaces in acres.	Persons per acre of open space.	Number of open spaces in extent between —				Area of largest open space in acres.
					—and 5 acres.	5 and 50 acres.	50 and 100 acres.	Over 100 acres.	
Albany.....	90,758	11	89	1,020	10	0	1	0	75
Baltimore.....	322,313	22	883	376	14	6	0	2	623
Boston.....	362,839	60	1204	301	48	7	1	4	518
Brooklyn.....	566,662	12	595	953	7	4	0	1	506
Buffalo.....	155,134	11	600	259	8	1	1	1	350
Chicago.....	503,185	18	2000	252	8	4	0	6	593
Cincinnati.....	253,139	6	376	678	2	2	0	2	209
Cleveland.....	160,146	7	93	1,722	4	2	1	0	63½
Detroit.....	116,320	12	714	163	11	0	0	1	700
Jersey City.....	120,722	4	6½	18,573	4	0	0	0	3½
Kansas City.....	55,785	1	2.11	27,892	1	0	0	0	2.11
Louisville.....	123,758	2	6	20,626	2	0	0	0	4
Milwaukee.....	115,587	7	25	4,623	6	1	0	0	7
Minneapolis.....	46,887	12	304	154	5	6	0	1	152
Newark, N. J.....	136,508	6	16	8,532	5	1	0	0	6½
New York.....	1,206,299	38	1213	994	25	11	0	2	840
Paterson, N. J.....	51,031	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	..
Philadelphia.....	847,170	11	2491	340	5	5	0	1	2,443
Pittsburgh.....	156,389	2	1½	120,299	2	0	0	0	1½
Richmond, Va.....	63,600	6	211	307	1	4	0	1	160
St. Louis.....	350,118	19	2134	164	6	9	0	4	1,372
San Francisco.....	239,959	21	1112	216	18	2	0	1	1,050
Scranton, Pa.....	45,850	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	..
Wash'g'ton, D. C.....	147,293	246	408½	361	234	9	3	0	82½
Wilm'gton, Del.....	42,478	0	0	..	0	0	0	0	..

If we compare leading American and European cities in respect to number of inhabitants per acre of open space, we reach the following results:

City.	Rank.	Persons per acre of open space.	City.	Rank.	Persons per acre of open space.
Minneapolis.....	1	154	Paisley.....	22	818
Detroit.....	2	163	Brooklyn.....	23	953
St. Louis.....	3	164	New York.....	24	994
San Francisco.....	4	216	Albany.....	25	1020
Edinburgh.....	5	246	Amsterdam.....	26	1339
Prague.....	6	247	Breslau.....	27	1359
Chicago.....	7	252	Belfast.....	28	1452
Buffalo.....	8	259	Cleveland.....	29	1722
Boston.....	9	301	Chemnitz.....	30	1877
Richmond, Va.....	9	301	Birmingham.....	31	1931
Philadelphia.....	11	340	Manchester.....	32	2230
Washington, D. C.....	12	361	Milwaukee.....	33	4623
Baltimore.....	13	376	Newark, N. J.....	34	8532
Vienna.....	14	473	Jersey City, N. J.....	35	18,573
Paris.....	15	495	Louisville.....	36	20,626
Geneva.....	16	589	Kansas City.....	37	27,892
Leeds.....	17	630	Pittsburgh.....	38	120,299
Brussels.....	18	637	Paterson, N. J.....	39	No open spaces
Cincinnati.....	19	678	Scranton, Pa.....	39	at all.
London.....	20	694	Wilmington, Del.....	39	at all.
Berlin.....	21	804			

In estimating the relative merits of different cities we must do more than consider the ratios existing between the total number of inhabitants and the acreage of open spaces. Small parks or squares, though less ornamental, are much more useful than large ones. An ideal system would comprise both, but judged from the standpoint of efficiency, a city like Washington, which has 234 squares and gardens each under five acres in extent, with a mall of only 82½ acres, is infinitely ahead of Philadelphia with but 5 small open spaces and its much lauded Fairmount Park comprising 2443 acres. Taking the number of small open spaces per 1000 population as the test, the American and European cities previously mentioned would stand in the following order: Washington, D. C., Chemnitz, Prague, Boston, Albany, Minneapolis, Detroit, Amsterdam, Geneva, San Francisco, Breslau, Berlin, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Newark, N. J., Brussels, Jersey City, Cleveland, New York, Paris, Kansas City, Paisley, St. Louis, Chicago, Louisville, Manchester, Richmond, Va., Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Birmingham, Leeds, Philadelphia, Belfast, Paterson, N. J., Scranton, Pa., and Wilmington, Del., have no small parks. The data for London, Edinburgh, and Vienna are too partial to admit of comparison. In the matter of small open spaces, Washington far surpasses any other city in the world. Indeed, no other one comes near enough to be classed a good second.

There are three essentials in an ideal park system, occupying in importance the order named. First, small open spaces

well distributed throughout a city, but numerous located in populous districts, and especially where working people principally congregate. Second, boulevards and broad avenues. These are most useful as ventilators when they connect the smaller parks in the interior of a city with the larger ones on the outskirts. Brussels, Paris, Buffalo, Chicago, and Minneapolis are well provided with these magnificent avenues. The last named city has ten and a half miles of boulevards and 765 acres of water surface in her large parks, besides a sufficient area of open spaces in ratio to population to give her first rank amongst American cities. Third, large parks. No community should be without one. Large cities ought to have four, one on the boundaries of every quarter. It is an unfortunate fact that large parks are frequently neither the most used nor useful of city open spaces. The reason is that they are often practically inaccessible to those who need them most, and in their adornment, comfort is too often sacrificed to aesthetic taste. There is far too much of a "keep-off-the-grass" air about them.

The statistics already quoted show that Baltimore, when compared with other American cities, is moderately well provided with open spaces. But other cities do not furnish an ideal standard of comparison, for the reason that no large city, with the possible exception of Washington, is sufficiently well equipped. All of them are feeling the need of more breathing room. Cities everywhere are increasing rapidly in population, but their park areas are not correspondingly growing. New York, scourged with the terrible tenement-house evil, is now realizing her needs and doing something to provide for the future. In addition to the three small parks which are to replace some of her cancerous slums, provision has been made for over 3000 acres of open spaces in the recently annexed districts. Her experience has been dearly bought, estimated from the standpoint alike of money and misery; and other communities should take a wholesome warning. Almost all of the park area in the old city limits had to be obtained at a fabulous cost, and the authorities have shown themselves wise in reserving a very liberal acreage while the land is still cheap. Will the City Council of Baltimore be equally sagacious in pursuing a like policy in relation to the "Belt"? A golden opportunity offers, and it is fatal to the interests of the future to let it pass unimproved.

The special needs of Baltimore can be readily comprehended by all who will study carefully the statistics and experiences here related of sister cities. Summarized, I should say they were in particular five additional small open spaces to be located in the second, fourth, eighth, tenth and eighteenth wards; the boulevarding of Boundary Avenue, if possible for its entire length; and the reservation of at least two thousand acres in different portions of the "Belt" for parks in the future. The initial expense for accomplishing this might be large, but the ultimate benefits, material, sanitary, and moral, would more than compensate. Everything doubtless cannot be done at once, but let a good beginning be made.

E. R. L. GOULD.

THE BOSS AND HIS TAIL.

MR. LUCIUS B. SWIFT'S eloquent comparison of modern bossism with the ancient feudal system bears analysis extremely well. When applied to the details of our local politics, it fits the facts very neatly. It should seem, on investigation, that the well known speech-writer in ordinary to our Maryland boss, and poor McNulty, the poet of the "old gray mare," and the rest of the sorry train, are really survivals of a lower state of society. In Sir Walter Scott's novel of Waverley, Fergus MacIvor's lieutenant, exalting the glories of his lord, says:

"Ah, if you English gentlemen saw but the chief with his tail on!"

"With his tail on!" echoed Waverley in some surprise.

"Yes, that is with all his usual followers, when he visits those of the same rank. There is his *hench-man*, or right-hand man; then his *bard*, or poet; then his *bladier*, or orator, to make harangues to the great folks whom he visits; then his *gilly-more*, or armour-bearer, to carry his sword and gun; then his *gillies* for divers other purposes;

and the piper and the piper's man, and it may be a dozen young lads besides, that have no business, but are just boys of the belt, to follow the laird, and do his honour's bidding."

How familiar all this sounds to those of us who happen to live in a region where feudalism still holds sway! Do we not all know that the chief boss of Maryland has his *hench-man*, and his *bard*, and his *bladiers*, one or more, besides the other boys of the belt that have no occupation except just to "do his honor's bidding"?

In the minds of self-respecting persons the question naturally arises as to what can induce people to become part of a fellow-man's tail. The Highlanders, perhaps, could do so without loss of personal dignity; it was the custom of the country, and they were of the blood and clan of the chief. In the case of free-born American citizens the only motive that can account for such a course is that of the profits that ensue. As long as public offices are in the gift of a boss, so long that boss will have his humble following. When we come to a more rational system of appointment to office, the boss and his tail will disappear as completely from our country as the cattle-stealing chief and his tail have disappeared from the Highlands of Scotland.

MESSAGE ACCOMPANYING THE FOURTH REPORT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the second section of chapter 27 of the laws of 1883, entitled "An act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," I herewith transmit the fourth report of the United States Civil Service Commission, covering the period between the 16th day of January, 1886, and the first day of July, 1887.

While this report has especial reference to the operations of the Commission during the period above mentioned, it contains, with the accompanying appendices, much valuable information concerning the conception of civil service reform and its growth and progress, which cannot fail to be interesting and instructive to all who desire improvement in administrative methods. During the time covered by the report, fifteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-two persons were examined for admission in the classified civil service of the Government in all its branches, of whom ten thousand seven hundred and forty-six passed the examination, and five thousand one hundred and six failed. Of those who passed the examination, 2977 were applicants for admission to the departmental service at Washington, 2547 were examined for admission to the customs service, and 5222 for admission to the postal service. During the same period five hundred and forty-seven appointments were made from the eligible lists to the departmental service, six hundred and forty-one to the customs service, and 3254 to the postal service.

Concerning separations from the classified service, the report only informs us of such as have occurred among employes in the public service who have been appointed from eligible lists under civil service rules. When these rules took effect they did not apply to the persons then in the service, comprising a full complement of employes who obtained their positions independently of the new law. The Commission has no record of the separations in this numerous class, and the discrepancy apparent in the report between the number of appointments made in the respective branches of the service from the lists of the Commission and the small number of separations mentioned, is to a great extent accounted for by vacancies of which no report was made to the Commission, occurring among those who held their places without examination and certification, which vacancies were filled by appointment from the eligible lists.

In the departmental service there occurred between the 16th day of January, 1886, and the 30th day of June, 1887, among the employes appointed from the eligible lists under civil service rules, seventeen removals, thirty-six resignations and five deaths. This does not include fourteen separations

in the grade of special pension examiners, four by removal, five by resignation and five by death.

In the classified customs and postal service the number of separations among those who received absolute appointments under civil service rules are given for the period between the 1st day of January, 1886, and the 30th day of June, 1887. It appears that such separations in the customs service for the time mentioned embraced twenty-one removals, five deaths and eighteen resignations, and in the postal service, two hundred and fifty-six removals, twenty-three deaths and four hundred and sixty-nine resignations.

More than a year has passed since the expiration of the period covered by the report of the Commission. Within the time which has thus elapsed, many important changes have taken place in furtherance of a reform in our civil service. The rules and regulations governing the execution of the law upon the subject have been completely remodeled in such manner as to render the enforcement of the statute more effective and greatly increase its usefulness.

Among other things, the scope of the examinations prescribed for those who seek to enter the classified service has been better defined and made more practical; the number of names to be certified from the eligible lists to the appointing officers, from which a selection is made, has been reduced from four to three, the maximum limitation of the age of persons seeking entrance to the classified service to forty-five years has been changed, and reasonable provision has been made for the transfer of employes from one department to another in proper cases. A plan has also been devised providing for the examination of applicants for promotion in the service, which, when in full operation, will eliminate all chance of favoritism in the advancement of employes, by making promotion a reward of merit and faithful discharge of duty.

Until within a few weeks there was no uniform classification of employes in the different executive departments of the Government. As a result of this condition, in some of the departments, positions could be obtained without civil service examination, because they were not within the classification of such department; while in other departments an examination and certification were necessary to obtain positions of the same grade, because such positions were embraced in the classifications applicable to those departments.

The exception of laborers, watchmen and messengers from examination and classification gave opportunity, in the absence of any rule guarding against it, for the employment, free from civil service restrictions, of persons under these designations who were immediately detailed to do clerical work.

All this has been obviated by the application to all the departments of an extended and uniform classification, embracing grades of employes not heretofore included, and by the adoption of a rule prohibiting the detail of laborers, watchmen or messengers to clerical duty.

The path of civil service reform has not at all times been pleasant nor easy, the scope and purpose of the reform having been much misapprehended, and this has not only given rise to strong opposition, but has led to its invocation by its friends to compass objects not in the least related to it. Thus partisans of the patronage system have naturally condemned it. Those who do not understand its meaning, either mistrust it, or, when disappointed, because in its present stage it is not applied to every real or imaginary ill, accuse those charged with its enforcement with faithlessness to civil service reform. Its importance has frequently been underestimated, and the support of good men has thus been lost by their lack of interest in its success. Besides all these difficulties, those responsible for the administration of the Government in its executive branches have been, and still are, often annoyed and irritated by the disloyalty to the service, and the insolence of employes who remain in place as the beneficiaries and the relics and reminders of the vicious system of appointment which civil service reform was intended to displace. And yet these are but the incidents of an advance movement which is radical and far-reaching. The people are, notwithstanding, to be congratulated upon the progress which has been made, and upon the firm, practical

and sensible foundation upon which this reform now rests.

With a continuation of the intelligent fidelity which has hitherto characterized the work of the Commission, with a continuation and increase of the favor and liberality which have lately been evinced by the Congress in the proper equipment of the Commission for its work, with a firm, but conservative and reasonable support of the reform by all its friends, and with the disappearance of opposition, which must inevitably follow its better understanding, the execution of the civil service law cannot fail to ultimately answer the hopes in which it had its origin.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Executive Mansion, July 23, 1888.

THE REPORT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

THE fourth report of the Commission is full of valuable information and suggestions. We may have something to say hereafter as to the number and variety of the examinations, the percentage of failures, the education of the applicants, the improvement of the personnel of the service, and other matters of fact which are found in the document. For the present, however, we can afford space only to notice a few of the recommendations embodied in the report. Among these is that a greater sum of money be appropriated for carrying on the business of the Commission. We heartily join in this suggestion. The salaries are too low for men doing the great amount of work and incurring the ever-increasing responsibility of the Commissioners, and the clerical force is insufficient to attend to many matters which should receive attention. Thus it is said that the very important matter of the formation of proper promotion regulations has been greatly retarded because the Commission was already overburdened with other imperative duties. The Civil Service Reform Associations through the country should bring such influence to bear upon Congress as will prevent any impediment being laid in the way of the Commission by parsimonious or hostile legislation.

In regard to the extension of the classified service, elsewhere referred to, the report says:

In this connection the suggestion may be made, that the departmental classifications might be revised so as to include places under the authority of the departments, the duties of which are discharged in the States and Territories. The one hundred and fifty special pension examiners perform their duties outside the pension office. Nearly all of them are employed constantly remote from the capital. But they are required to enter the service through a special examination, and are within the classified service of the Department of the Interior. The employes of the railway-mail service might, by process similar to that which placed the special pension examiners within the classified service of the Department of the Interior, be put into the classified service of the Postoffice Department, and certain of the "field" employes of the Indian, land, and labor bureaus might in the same way be included within the classified service of the Department of the Interior. To the Indian school service the rules might be applied, to the great improvement of that service, and without much difficulty. Under the rules, persons of undoubted qualifications, tested in the manner adopted for testing the qualifications of public school teachers in the States, could be furnished to that service without delay; and by this process that most important instrumentality in the work of civilizing the Indian would be made much more effective than it ever can be made under the system of appointments upon recommendation—under a system that too frequently gives, to every service, inexperience, and sometimes gross ignorance of subjects and methods, a knowledge of which is essential to efficiency. In the Department of War are a number of graded clerks employed in its several depots who might be brought within the classified service of that department as a part of the force of the quartermaster-general's office. The depots in which these clerks are employed are located, respectively, at New York City, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jeffersonville, Ind.; San Francisco, Cal.; St. Louis, Mo., and Washington, D. C. The inclusion of these clerks within the classified service of the Department of War would give to the quartermaster-general's office experienced men, familiar with all its details, and it would give to the clerks opportunities of promotion that they do not now possess, and which they cannot in any other way obtain. In the Department of Agriculture are a number of clerical places that were not, it is claimed, included in the classification of November 24, 1884, and to these places appointments are made without examination. These places should, in the interest of the service of that department, be classified without delay.

SECRETARY FAIRCHILD'S PROTEST.

THE following extracts from Mr. Fairchild's recent letter to Mr. Curtis contain the most important parts of that document. We omit the portion relating to the conduct of the New York Association, as it is evident that it was written under an entire misapprehension. We omit also some personal references to Mr. Jas. Burt, whose letter to the Secretary we print elsewhere, and also some less important details of testimony, etc.

It is sufficient to say that the result of all of the evidence, reports, comparative statements, and circumstances was to convince me that the Government business at the port of New York, so far at least as the collection of the duties upon sugar was concerned, had not been and was not properly conducted; and when thus convinced, it became my duty to do what I could to correct the evil, for it must not be forgotten that the Secretary of the Treasury is alone responsible for the conduct of his department, and that he alone, under the laws as they still are, has the power to correct wrongs therein. I do not suppose that it will be maintained that the Secretary, when himself convinced that wrongs exist in his department, should publish the evidence which had operated upon his mind, and then delay action until he was satisfied that mankind in general, or even a few selected men, agreed with him. . . .

The removals which I am charged with making so wantonly and cruelly were those of two brothers, Edward and John Sherer. The former was the chief chemist and polariscopist in the sugar division, and the latter had exclusive charge of the damage allowances upon sugar at the port of New York. It was painful to me to remove these men, and I would gladly have avoided it if I thought that I could, consistently with my official duty. Both were said to be men of fair repute and good chemists. I knew and esteemed their brother William, who is now, and has been for a long time, in the sub-treasury at New York. Many personal and political friends besought me not to remove them, and no one asked me to do so. No one had then, or has to the present time, applied for the place of either of them, and I know of no one to appoint in their stead. If by charges are meant such charges as are filed against an officer on a court-martial, or such as are contained in an indictment in a criminal court, then no charges were stated to these men; they were, however, made to understand that the conduct of their business was unsatisfactory to me. They offered various testimonials, statements and evidence, to show that their business was properly conducted, among them a paper signed by almost all of the sugar importers and refiners of New York, which stated that the business was conducted satisfactorily to them and deprecated any change. There were also two letters from importers of sugar, one Willett & Hamlin, and the other Ira Bursley, stating that they found no advantage in importing sugars at New York as compared with Boston, except that the former port offered a better market. The testimony of Mr. Bursley was calculated to have peculiar weight with me, for I knew of him very favorably from others, and also because I knew that he was treasurer of the New York Civil Service Reform Association. Besides the unsatisfactory conduct of the Government business, there was also evidence that the firm of Sherer Brothers, chemists, 122 Front Street, New York, where sugars are tested for importers, was composed of these two brothers, Edward and John. To engage in this business while they were testing sugars as Government officials would be unlawful and indecent. They denied that they still had an interest in that firm, and submitted all of the evidence which they wished to sustain their denial, and yet I believed that they were interested in said business. After everything which they chose to submit had been carefully considered, I was of the opinion that it would tend to promote the public interest if they ceased to be in the service of the Government, and I accordingly ordered their dismissal. Others might not agree with me in my conclusions, but others have not my responsibility; and while I am Secretary of the Treasury I must be governed

by the conclusions which I reach. Upon the removal of these men I ordered Mr. Leary, the Government polariscopist at Boston, to go to New York and perform the duties which had been performed by Edward Sherer. Mr. Leary had been twelve years in the Appraiser's Department at Boston. His character and competency were highly vouched for by men in whom I had confidence. The only fault that I had ever known to be found with him was that he was not so "liberal" toward importers as was the polariscopist in New York; or, to use the language of the Boston merchants heretofore quoted, his polariscope was not so "facile." Mr. Leary now uses at New York the polariscope which Dr. Sherer used, except that it has been cleaned—something sadly needed, according to Mr. Leary. Of course he tests the same classes of sugar, in fact does his work under precisely the same conditions as did Dr. Sherer, with the result, if the complaint against him of Mr. Burt is to be believed, that the Government collects \$800 a day more from the importers whom he, Burt, represents than it did when Dr. Sherer tested the sugars. I wish that the Government could secure at every port officers as conscientious and strict in the discharge of their duties as Mr. Leary. . . .

The explanation of the case of the men whom it is charged that I did not remove because they had influence is this: Fourteen or fifteen names were under consideration. I decided to act upon four or five of the most important and postpone the others until later—for I have not yet finished this business—and until I could see the effect of the removals which I did make. Among these eight or ten men whose cases have not yet been acted upon is one named Jacobs. He has been in the service many years. When Mr. Maynard was going over these names with the Appraiser, the latter stated to him that this Jacobs was a son of ex-Senator Jacobs, of Brooklyn, and, moreover, was a good officer, and especially requested that he be retained. Mr. Maynard told me what Mr. McMullen had said about each of the names on the list. When he told me this about Jacobs, I remarked that I never had heard that Senator Jacobs had a son, and that is all the consideration which I gave to this circumstance. I may say, however, that neither Senator Jacobs nor any one else, save Appraiser McMullen, ever requested that Jacobs be retained, so far as I know, nor have I any knowledge that such a man exists, except as hereinbefore stated. As to the other man in whom it is said that a member of Congress is interested, I can only say that I was not aware of such interest until I saw the statements charging that such interest was the cause of his retention. The reason for the retention of the other men does not seem to have been ascertained by those who make these charges. I have already given it, however, and it applies to all. The only men for whose retention I have been strongly pressed are the Sherers whom I dismissed.

The last case is that of Mr. McElwee, the man who was reappointed after dismissal. [As to this the facts are:]

Byrne, in the course of his investigation, told me that the men connected with the Appraiser's Department were afraid to testify lest they lose their places. I told him that I could not promise them immunity from discharge, but that whatever power I had would be used to prevent their discharge because of any testimony which they might give.

Some time later McElwee's removal was recommended on the charge of drunkenness and insubordination, and was approved as a matter of course. I soon was informed that McElwee was one who had given testimony unfavorable to the conduct of the sugar business at New York, and now the feared and predicted removal had taken place. I replied that this man was removed for drunkenness and insubordination, and men could not be kept in the Government service simply because they had given testimony in this investigation, no matter what their conduct might be afterward. I was then shown that the date of the offence with which this man was charged was long before he had given his testimony, and that the charge was made against him and his removal recommended almost immediately after the giving of such testimony, and under such circumstances as to leave no doubt upon my mind that the charge of drunkenness had been made not because he had been drunk or was unfit for

his place, but because he had testified. Upon being satisfied of this, I ordered that the proper steps be taken for his restoration and that he be restored. It seems that a certain certificate from the local civil service board was necessary to effect his restoration under the civil service rules, and that through neglect or oversight this certificate had not been obtained. When this was ascertained and pointed out, the proper steps were taken to correct this error, and the man was restored legally and in due form.

I am told by the Civil Service Commission that it was not necessary to amend their rules to do this, and that in fact they were not amended; but had it been necessary to amend the rules in order to effect the restoration of a man discharged under the circumstances as I understood them in this case, I should certainly have asked the President to so amend them. I had forgotten it, but I am informed that the Congressman in whose district McElwee lived did take some interest in his case, and probably did speak to me about him, but surely that fact ought not to have deterred me from doing what I thought not only to be right and just, but also essential to secure the proper administration of my department. . . .

James Burt, the sugar broker mentioned herein, called at my house one day when I was there trying to dispose of some work which could not have been done at the office; on his card he wrote that he came to see me at the suggestion of Colonel Lamont, the President's private secretary. I sent word to Mr. Burt that I was very much engaged, and if his business related to sugar matters at New York, that I would like him to state it to Assistant Secretary Maynard, who had charge of the details of that business, and who would consult me about it; that if he must communicate with me personally, I preferred that he do so by letter.

Mr. Maynard told me the same day that Burt had called upon him, and was much excited about the polarization of sugar as done by Mr. Leary at New York. I remarked that I did not think there was occasion for excitement; that the importers could protest and appeal, and upon convincing the department that their sugars had been classified too high, that the duties could be refunded. Mr. Maynard said that Mr. Burt, in connection with this subject, had said that most of his clients, importers of sugar, had supported Mr. Cleveland in 1884, and wished to do so again in 1888 if they could. I said that if they were beginning to talk about election and votes, I feared that the charges which the Boston merchants made were all true.

Colonel Lamont told me the next day, in response to my inquiry, that James Burt came to him introduced by a letter from his brother Silas, which stated that the bearer had important facts to communicate, and might be relied upon. His communication was a tale about the sugar business at New York, and of the grievance which the sugar importers who were his (Burt's) clients had because of the action of the Treasury Department, and also that they had powerful political influence, particularly in New York and Michigan, which they wished to use for the benefit of Mr. Cleveland in the coming election if they could do so. He said that his brother Silas wished him to see Colonel Lamont because of the great interest which he felt in Mr. Cleveland's success. Colonel Lamont told him that as his business seemed to belong to the Treasury Department, that the Secretary of the Treasury was the proper officer to attend to it. . . .

THE ALLEGED SUGAR FRAUDS.

TO HON. CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD, *Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.*

Sir.—Your open letter, really for the public, but formally addressed to Mr. George William Curtis, and dated the 20th inst., contains statements which, by implication or innuendo, so seriously touch my reputation for integrity and fair dealing as to demand from me a positive and comprehensive denial. . . .

It is one of the anomalies of this Government investigation and discussion of "alleged sugar frauds" that it is the accused parties who are clamoring for publicity which the Govern-

ment rigorously forbids. I gladly say to you that whatever apparent evidence or circumstantial or inferential proof you may have in your hands which gives ground for the suspicion of wrongdoing on my part or on the part of the importers whom I have represented in these matters, you will greatly oblige me by publishing in full. I earnestly request this act of common justice at your hands.

Sugar pays over one fourth of the entire revenue collected on imports, and the question demanded your careful attention and best executive ability.

But you selected an irresponsible newspaper reporter from Boston who had no knowledge of the article of commerce and no experience in investigations of such character, to make a *secret*, long extended, expensive and most iniquitous investigation of this important matter. His methods were so disgraceful, and his intimation that you were interested in the "alleged sugar frauds" so audacious, that they should have insured his immediate discharge.

No one here had any confidence in this investigator Byrne, who began his work by declaring that great frauds existed, and that he knew just where to put his finger upon them; and I cannot do your intelligence the injustice to suppose that you had any confidence in the man, or in his investigation, or in his report. And yet this report was undoubtedly used in your office as a pretext for an onslaught upon the faithful officers of the Government in the Sugar Division of the Appraiser's Office at this port.

You removed one man from the laboratory where, if *any* wrongdoing existed, five or six must have been implicated. . . .

There is no doubt that sugars were tested higher at Boston than at New York. It has been proven that Mr. Leary, who had charge of the polariscope at Boston, had his instrument set one half of a degree too high by reason of his false estimate of his quartz-plate.

The National Academy of Science, at your request, examined the quartz-plates used at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and made their report to you last year.

It is only necessary to say that they found the average value of the quartz-plate used at Boston to be 99 and five hundredths, and as hundredths are not read by the polariscope, it follows that the instrument at Boston was set one half of a degree too high. This shows the gross ignorance of Mr. Leary, as he had valued his quartz-plate at 99 and one half.

The value given by the same authority to the quartz-plate used at this port by Dr. Sherer was just the value at which he estimated it for the adjustment of his polariscope. And so it would appear that Dr. Sherer was removed because he could and did correctly estimate his quartz-plate, and that Mr. Leary was promoted to higher honor because he could not and did not correctly estimate his.

The difference between the rates of duty on sugar imported into the two ports of New York and Boston is easily and correctly accounted for:

First, By the fact that the general average of sugars imported at New York is of a lower grade than the general average of sugar imported at Boston;

Second, By the erroneous adjustment of the polariscope at Boston.

But speaking of the complaints made by Boston importers some years ago, you will recall the fact that while they claimed that the tests in New York were lower than they were in Boston, they also claimed that the tests in Philadelphia were lower than they were in New York. We have not heard that the officers in Philadelphia who were responsible for this state of things were removed from office. And now it is said that the tests in Boston are lower than they are in New York.

The remarkable uniformity of the rates of duty paid by all importers here, and the statistical position, should have convinced you that frauds in sugar had no existence here.

I cannot conceive where you got the impression that I had said that since Mr. Leary has been testing sugars here the Government has collected \$800 more per day from the importers I represented. I never said that nor anything like it, but I do say now that the Government has collected more

duty in many instances than it should have collected, and this in consequence of Mr. Leary's incompetency or his disposition to make his tests as high-as possible. Such practices are exceedingly annoying to both large and small importers and should not be approved by our Government.

And now as regards "the flood of light which was thrown upon the subject of sugar duties in New York, about the middle of May last," in consequence of my speaking to Colonel Lamont and Assistant Secretary Maynard of the political aspect of the sugar case in New York.

I did call upon Colonel Lamont and spoke to him of the desire of importers of sugar at New York to have Mr. Leary removed and some competent man appointed in his place. I said that even if Mr. Leary were to test the sugars correctly, there would always be an uncomfortable and uncertain feeling about him which would be extremely irritating. I explained to him that I had seen Assistant Secretary Maynard on the subject on a previous visit to Washington and could not get relief, and that apparently I could not see Mr. Fairchild. I then said, what I afterward repeated to Assistant Secretary Maynard, that the sugar importers at New York were not smugglers nor defrauders of the revenue, that they were an honorable body of merchants, and that I did not see what could be gained by making them feel that they had a grievance against the Administration. I said "most of them were with us in 1884—why should they not be in 1888?—they employ large numbers of men in New York and have interests in Michigan."

This is exactly what I did say, and it is very different from your statement of what I said. I am sure it is no more than one might properly say for the benefit of his clients to secure what he believed to be their rights. Are not things of this nature said to you and Assistant Secretary Maynard almost daily, and do you always turn deaf ears to them?

Colonel Lamont and Assistant Secretary Maynard treated me very kindly, and Colonel Lamont desired me to call on you and to say to you what I had said to him, and to say that I had called on you at his suggestion.

And now a word as to Mr. Dreyfous whom you draw into this controversy. It seems from your statement that he made certain charges against me and my clients and that you demanded the proofs. As an officer and a gentleman you could do no less. Well, did he produce them? You admit that he did not, and instead of accepting his failure as

conclusive, you draw the purely arbitrary inference that I tampered with him, and even repeat some silly intimation that I relinquished a portion of my business to him to secure his silence. Now what are the facts? I represent to-day precisely the same interest, neither less nor more than I represented five years ago, and my clients have not held 90 per cent of the business of the port, but about 25 per cent of it. I have had no communication with Mr. Dreyfous during that period, directly nor indirectly. So this slander has no foundation in fact.

In conclusion, I desire to make an earnest protest against your baseless insinuations, innuendoes and inferences, and again request that you make public any proofs or justification you may have or think you have.

Very respectfully yours,
[Signed]

JAMES BURT.

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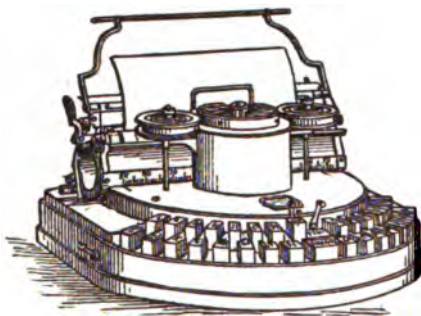
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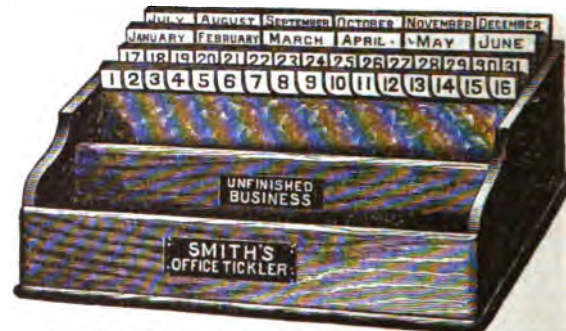
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THE MONTH.

IN the present state of public feeling in Baltimore, the nomination by the Democratic party of a reasonably fit candidate for the new seat on the Supreme Bench is equivalent to an election. At the same time it is well for the managers of that party to remember that there is no subject on which the indignation of our citizens can be so easily aroused as an attempt to abase the judiciary, and that the part of wisdom for them is to choose as their candidate a man of unblemished life, of undeniable learning, and of sufficient practical experience. A failure to come up to all these requirements might cost them much. These remarks apply equally to their choice for the chief judgeship, to which the Governor has the right to appoint for the coming year. In this case, also, a proper regard for public opinion would be good party policy. The appointee of the Governor comes before the people for confirmation in 1889, and no one of a character unworthy to compare with Judge Brown's spotless reputation can be safely placed in the position which that public-spirited and incorruptible man has filled with such distinguished honor. Nevertheless, and in spite of the public feeling in favor of a non-partisan bench so strongly shown in 1882, Governor Jackson has been quoted as declaring that in this case, just as in purely political appointments, he will appoint no one but a "regular." This is a test which, if adopted also as to the nomination, will exclude from either position a large majority of our reputable lawyers. As to some of the applicants who come up to the "regular" standard, it is not too much to say that they are not distinguished for their legal learning. Probably in that very large part of the law with which they are unacquainted is included the provision of the Constitution declaring that the judges shall be selected from among those members of the bar who are "most distinguished for integrity, wisdom, and sound legal knowledge."

THE selection of Mr. Oberly for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs is worthy of commendation. Mr. Oberly bears the reputation of an earnest and conscientious friend of the Indians, and in his new office he will have a most enviable opportunity to redress the well-founded grievances of those unfortunate people. His experience of the beneficial results following the introduction of the merit system into other departments ought to be sufficient to induce him to urge upon the President its extension to his own subordinates. The difficulties of such a step are not small, but the need of it is great enough to justify any labor. As Mr. Herbert Welsh said in this journal two months ago: "It is manifest that the great army of spoilsmen, the political boss, the ward 'rounder-up' and 'heeler,' the impecunious, illiterate, hungry relative or hanger-on of Representative or Senator, is not as a rule suitable material with which to effect the education and civilization of the Indian." But experience has shown only too clearly that so long as there is no barrier between the clamorous friends of such people and the appointing officer, they swarm into the public service; and the only effective barrier yet devised is the merit system.

PERHAPS the greatest obstacle in the way of civil service reform is the determined opposition of the old school of politicians, whether of the silent, intriguing Gorman type, or the ranting, blustering Blackburn variety. We shall have to wait patiently for the certain extinction of a species which is as much out of place in a progressive country as a megatherium would be in Mt. Vernon Place. But meantime there are signs of better times approaching. Mr. Blackburn can still venture to say in New York:

"Grover Cleveland has purified the civil service of this country. He is a civil service advocate, and so am I, but this is a love-feast of Democrats and we can afford to tell the truth. I am not the same sort of a civil service man that he is. I believe in civil service profoundly, but the civil service that I cherish is more like that which is held to and practiced by your own great Governor of your State to-day. I believe in that sort of a civil service which will hold the party in power to the strictest accountability for its management of public affairs. I believe in that sort of civil service that would put out of office every bad Republican, because he is bad, and then I would put out every good one, if there is such a one. I would put him out too, because I believe that an equally competent Democrat is infinitely better.

But about the same time Senator Vest, himself by no means fully accustomed to the new conditions of public life, took a great step forward when he said in the Senate, referring to the charges of conniving at the levying of assessments in the Chicago postoffice: "If the postmaster at the city of Chicago, an appointee of this Administration, has prostituted his office, violated his oath, trampled upon the rules of the civil service by collusion with his law partner; if he has, through his law partner, emulated the example which the Republican party set to the country for so many years, and if he has indirectly sought to evade a plain statute, then that official should be put out of office, and should receive the condemnation of every honest man." And it is most encouraging too to note that in Massachusetts, where the younger generation of politicians seem to have got a strong hold upon the party machinery, the nominee of the Democratic party for Governor is a man who has distinguished himself by his faithful administration of the reform law when mayor of Cambridge. Perhaps equally suggestive is the fact that in the fifth congressional district of the same State that party has nominated for Congress Col. Thos. W. Higginson, whose name is a synonym for devotion to progress. We note also with pleasure this declaration on the part of the Republicans of Indiana, it being part of their platform: "The sworn revelations of corruption, scoundrelism and outrage in the conduct of the penal and benevolent institutions of the State, made before investigating committees of the last Legislature, and confessed by the action of a Democratic Governor and Democratic legislators, enforce the demand of an enlightened public sentiment that these great and sacred trusts be forever removed from partisan control. We favor placing all public institutions under a wisely conceived and honestly administered civil service law."

WHATEVER may be its explanation, the ejection of Mr. Judd from the Chicago postmastership is a matter for congratulation. On the one hand it is said that he was displaced because of his defeat in a faction squabble, and on the other

that he disgusted the President with his grotesque administration of an office of the first importance. In this latter respect he seems to have enlarged upon the example of our equally unfortunate Mr. Veazey, and to have striven to become a great power in politics by setting the civil service reform law at defiance. His last and crowning work was in sending his law partner around the postoffice collecting political assessments from the clerks. This action was made public, and caused a heated debate in the Senate upon the subject of his performances, and very soon thereafter his light was extinguished. We trust that other Federal officers who may feel disposed to do like him may restrain themselves from indulgence in such tricks, lest their latter end should be like his.

THE recent report of the Grand Jury, of which that staunch friend of good government, Mr. Thos. McCosker, was foreman, called public attention once more to the complete breakdown of our machinery for suppressing the Sunday liquor traffic. The Grand Jury suggests that:

An amendment to the Sunday liquor law, prescribing the powers of the police in the premises, and, if necessary, extending them might be attended with beneficial results, but we think it would be far better to enact a high license law, requiring undoubted proof of good character from those applying for permission to sell, together with the recommendation of those living in the neighborhood where the applicant proposes to locate. This would exclude the disreputable element from the business, and would make useful auxiliaries of the respectable ones remaining, who, in self-defense, would assist the authorities in enforcing the law.

This high license system is already in successful operation in our neighboring city of Philadelphia, where it has apparently accomplished much good. A bill providing for its introduction into this city was one of the excellent measures killed by our last ring-ruled Legislature.

THE circular asking for funds recently issued by the National Democratic Campaign Committee contained a paragraph in reference to political assessments which seemed intended to create the impression that no effort would be made in this canvass, under the authority of the committee, to bleed the Federal officials. But almost irrefragable evidence to the contrary has been produced by the New York *Tribune* by the publication of the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
KANSAS,

605 KANSAS AVENUE, TOPEKA, August 27, 1888.

(Personal and confidential.)

To GENERAL A. E. STEVENSON, First Assistant Postmaster-General,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir:—I am just in receipt of a notification through the proper channels with reference to the plans of the National Committee in getting contributions for that committee from Federal officeholders, and that this matter for the different States is made to devolve upon the respective State Committees. In pursuance of my plan to carry out the wishes of the National Committee, in this respect, you will please aid me by having furnished me at your earliest convenience a list of the names of all postmasters in this State, with the exception of the Presidential appointees.

Please have this list furnished in duplicate, and by counties, one copy of which I will retain in my office for reference and to check against, and the other copy I will cut up into the respective counties and refer to my committeemen and Presidential postmasters for information in the respective counties as to the position and financial situation and politics of the separate postmasters, and their ability to respond to such requests as I may make upon them.

The fact is, as I know very well, that there are hundreds and hundreds of these fourth-class postmasters, country storekeepers, who,

while not enjoying any very considerable emoluments directly from their offices, yet by reason of increased patronage to their business, through association with the postoffice, brings them in large and valuable returns, and a large number of them are more able to contribute to this cause than are many of our Presidential officeholders.

Again, further, I wish you would furnish me the names and location in the State of the gentlemen who are in the United States Railway Postal Service. Quite a number of these gentlemen have spoken to me and are desirous to contribute financially to the National Committee, and are only waiting information as to the methods to be adopted to that end.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN M. GALLOWAY, *Chairman.*

The means by which this document was obtained for publication were very probably dishonorable, but that does not detract from its importance, and the fact that no denial of its authenticity has yet been made seems to prove that it is genuine. Being so, there can be no doubt that President Cleveland should put a stop to a practice which all his professions should cause him to condemn.

IN his letter accepting the nomination for the presidency Mr. Cleveland says that among the "numerous objects of domestic concern" which "deserve much watchfulness and care" are "a strict and steadfast adherence to the principles of civil service reform and a thorough execution of the laws passed for their enforcement, thus permitting to our people the advantages of business methods in the operation of their government." It was hardly worth his while to say more than this, for Mr. Cleveland's standing as a civil service reformer must now be determined not by his words, but by his record in Maryland and Massachusetts, in New York and Indiana. It is different with the Republican candidate, however, who still has his reputation in the treatment of administrative questions to make. But unfortunately, that portion of General Harrison's letter which is devoted to an expression of his views on the civil service is far more vague than it should be. The passage runs as follows:

The law regulating appointments to the classified civil service received my support in the Senate, in the belief that it opened the way to a much-needed reform. I still think so, and therefore cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the convention upon this subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence. Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable, and further legislation extending the reform to other branches of the service, to which it is applicable, would receive my approval. In appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office. I know the practical difficulties attending the attempt to apply the spirit of the civil service rules to all appointments and removals. It will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform.

It is not nearly so important to be told how the law should be enforced and how appointments should be made, as it is to receive an explicit pledge that in the event of Mr. Harrison's election removals will not be made for partisan purposes, nor patronage handed over to the Blaines, Quays, and News in payment of campaign debts. Mr. Harrison could have drawn more civil service reformers to his side if he had promised to withhold his hand from a clean sweep.

ON the twelfth of September we were vouchsafed the sight of a "chief with his tail on." We refer to the singular ceremony with which the postmaster, Mr. Brown, was received by his letter-carriers on his return from Europe. This

potentate had declined all the duties of his office excepting the receipt of his salary, while he enjoyed a summer vacation abroad. Upon his arrival here at home it seems to have become the duty of his faithful vassals to go forth to greet him, in accordance with the old feudal custom; and in order to get time for this pageant, the delivery of mail in Baltimore ceased at 11.30 A. M. Then, while the business community, with characteristic unreasonableness, fumed and growled because they had to do without their letters for one day, the faithful carriers were marched by a circuitous route of forty-five blocks to Union Station, to welcome their chieftain. Singularly enough, the first stage of their journey was from the armory of the Fifth Regiment down town to the City Hall. Arrived at that shrine of the faithful, Mr. Latrobe poetically addressed them as follows:

"I congratulate you on your martial appearance, the excellence of your drill, and especially the efficiency of the service to which you belong. The postmen are public necessities. They are always 'on the go.' No weather stops their march. In storm or sunshine, rain or snow, you tramp your daily rounds. There are no laggards in your ranks. Your step is always 'double quick,' for those for whom you cater will not wait. No postman idles as he walks. Like soldiers, you carry haversacks, not filled with cartridges or rations, but bearing communications on business, good or bad tidings from absent friends, or soft and tender words from those we love. How anxiously are your visits waited for! How many hearts beat quicker at the familiar sound of your bell-ring! But what means this martial array? Surely you do not go to get the mail. One would suppose it was St. Valentine's day, and all these gray-clad messengers were called out for duty in Cupid's cause. But where are your haversacks? You are in light marching order. You go, I hear, to meet and greet the mail-master—our postmaster, our fellow-citizen—Frank Brown, who comes across the sea back to his post of duty in Baltimore. You must not go empty-handed. What better can you carry than your country's flag? You will bear it proudly, and he, returning from a foreign land, will greet it kindly when you meet. Let me have the honor of presenting it to you, with the best wishes of Baltimore's people for the prosperity and happiness of our letter-carriers."

Perhaps somewhat overcome by this flood of eloquence, the procession meandered deviously to Union Depot, where, as that courtly journal, the *Sun*, informs us, "formed in double line, with presented canes, they received Postmaster Brown with cheers upon his arrival at 4.45 o'clock." That dignitary was then conveyed in a carriage with four horses, and in company with "Jack" Fenton, down town to the post-office; while the carriers marched behind, rather wearily, we fear. When the whole imposing array had reached the post-office, Carrier J. D. Scully delivered himself thus:

Mr. Postmaster:—On the part of the carriers permit me to welcome you home. We are gratified at your physical improvement, gained through travel in foreign lands, and in your renewed American love of country, which must have been strengthened by your observations of the effete monarchies of the Old World. We are gratified that your observation has shown the marked advancement of American postal affairs over those of Europe, and permit me, sir, to say that my comrades are determined by their conduct to uphold our American superiority in postal affairs, so far at least as we are concerned.

Without stopping to inquire into the remarkable feat of telepathy which Carrier Scully had performed in thus reading the thoughts of his chieftain, Postmaster Brown replied as follows:

It is with pride that I receive your pleasant welcome. I thank you as I have done in the past for the sincerity with which you have performed all your tasks, for which the beautiful colors presented to you through our chief magistrate, the Mayor, is a graceful tribute. I congratulate you upon your appearance in parade, and as to your faithful performance of duty I can best express myself by saying that you

appreciate the fact that a public office is a public trust. I never forgot in my travels that I had left five hundred trustworthy men under the assistant postmaster, who reported to me always that all was well with you. As to the countries I have visited, let me repeat as my sentiments the sage remark of my little boy, who said on the steamer, "Foreign countries are good enough to be born in, but America is the place to live." I thank you all heartily.

For the sake of the postmaster we are glad to hear that the cost of this ridiculous performance came out of his own pocket, and not out of the carriers'.

THE *Sun* recently printed a disgraceful article intended to pave the way for the pardon of three election officers convicted of gross frauds in the municipal election of 1886. As will appear from a perusal of the Reform League's protest against a pardon, printed elsewhere, no crime was ever more deliberately committed, more clearly proved, or more justly punished; and in a community where such crimes were not an habitual practice of an influential class of the population, no newspaper would venture to take the attitude of the *Sun*. Even in the *Sun*, such a course can only be explained on the theory that it is directed by a power to which a powerful journal must defer.

With such a case to establish, the arguments used must needs be extraordinary; but we were hardly prepared to find the State's Attorney urge Executive clemency because the criminals *refused* to turn State's evidence; nor were we less than astonished to learn that he admitted in unmistakable terms the charge so often made in this journal and upon the hustings, that these crimes were the result of a concerted plan, devised by persons more important than the criminals themselves. Yet no other meaning than we have given them can be attached to these words of Mr. Kerr's: "Although I have never heretofore endorsed any application for the pardon of those convicted of election frauds, I am led now to regard the case, under all the circumstances, as justly appealing to clemency. . . . I have always believed that these prisoners could themselves have revealed facts which would have shown, and without a knowledge of which no jury could determine, exactly who were responsible for an indisputable fraud. No one of them would tell upon the other or *disclose anything that might lead to the discovery of the originators of the nefarious schemes.*"

A VINDICATION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.*

In reviewing Mr. Andrew Carnegie's "Triumphant Democracy," a friendly critic pronounced it well suited to cure any one inclined to despond regarding the future of American institutions. We have seldom had occasion to dissent more heartily from any sentiment than from this; we know of no more dreary reading than the work thus eulogized for one rendered thoughtful by, for example, Sir Henry Maine's comments on Popular Government. A democracy content to take Mr. Carnegie as its champion would have lost the hope of improvement with the knowledge that improvement was needed. It would be so permeated with vulgar materialism and presumptuous sciolism that it could not either desire or understand nobler things. Its answer to its critics would forcibly illustrate and amply justify their censure.

*The Working of the American Democracy. An address delivered before the Fraternity ΦBK of Harvard University, June 28, 1888, by Charles W. Eliot. Pamphlet.

But President Eliot's address before the ΦBK of Harvard may be safely recommended to the many who are at once convinced that democracy will be sooner or later the government of the civilized world, and fearful lest it may prove an immense though inevitable evil. We cannot indeed accept all his arguments or approve of all his language, but it is refreshing in this day of frothy cant to read a piece of terse and manly English, especially when this is also an earnest and forcible plea for the practical merits of popular sovereignty. No American, we are confident, will read this address and not feel better satisfied with his country and more hopeful of her future; the very dissent which it here and there provokes arises mainly from a feeling that in so strong and serious a paper, both sides of doubtful questions should be fairly stated, and involves a tribute to its general excellence. President Eliot begins his consideration of the experience of our American democracy by pointing out that "for more than a hundred years there has been among civilized nations a decided set of opinion towards democratic institutions," and yet that "for trustworthy evidence concerning the practical working of democratic institutions," in nations of the first class, at all events, "mankind can look . . . solely to the United States." He says, with obvious truth, that "to the modern mind, ideal states like Plato's Republic, Sir Thomas More's Utopia, and St. Augustine's Civitas Dei, are utterly uninteresting," and since "it is upon experience and experience alone that safe conclusions can be based concerning the merits and faults of democracy," he proposes to consider: "How wisely . . . has the American people made up its mind upon public questions of supreme difficulty and importance? Not how will it, or how might it, make up its mind; but how has it made up its mind?" Selecting, as illustrations, three questions undoubtedly "of supreme importance" to the people of this country which it had to settle within rather more than a century, namely, "the question of independence of Great Britain, the question of forming a firm federal union, and the question of maintaining that union at whatever cost of blood and treasure," he asserts boldly, but with reason: "Everybody can now see that in each case the only wise decision was arrived at by the multitude in spite of difficulties and dangers which many contemporary statesmen and publicists of our own and other lands thought insuperable . . . No government . . . could possibly have made wiser decisions, or executed them more resolutely, as the event has proved in each of the three cases mentioned."

Having thus shown that a democratic government may be trusted to determine well problems of the gravest moment, and to act upon its determination with perseverance and courage, he further indicates that in America we have found satisfactory solution for three questions which now perplex and alarm statesmen of other countries. We have organized an immense hierarchy of self-governing communities (states, counties, cities, and towns), each of which discharges its own functions without clashing with those of the others or impairing the national strength. We have freed religion from all connection with the state, without depriving it of the law's sympathy and with great benefit to its material interests as well as its spiritual efficacy; and we have devised a system of higher education also wholly emancipated from state control, and amply supported by individual generosity and public spirit. President Eliot dwells with a just pride on the "immense expenditure of intellectual and moral energy" constantly made by the people of the United States, in doing

through these voluntary agencies, and on the whole doing so well, a vast work which in other countries would be left to salaried officials and the blighting care of a paternal government; but we think he hardly takes sufficient account of the salutary reaction of this healthful exercise upon the national mind and conscience. We manage our own local affairs and churches and colleges largely, no doubt, because we are an independent, orderly and united nation, but our independence and order and union have been the work of men already accustomed to manage their own colleges and churches and local affairs.

Mr. Eliot scarcely seems to appreciate this. He says truly "that a great deal of moral vigor has been put into the material development of the United States," but he speaks rather as if this "vigor" had been lost to the people who exhibited it. A blacksmith puts a great deal of physical vigor into his blows, but his right arm is afterward all the stronger. A nation must be out of leading-strings to settle a continent in four generations, but such work will make it all the better able to stand alone. We like no part of his address better than what he says of the prodigious development of corporations in the United States. Windy declamation about the power and vices of these bodies makes up the stock in trade of so many charlatans that it is encouraging to find a speaker who gives them their due, saying: "No other nation has made such general or such successful use of corporate powers as the American, . . . for . . . the method is essentially a democratic method . . . In American democratic society, corporations supplement the agencies of the State, and . . . freedom of incorporation . . . has given strong support to democratic institutions." He adds (a timely remark when we hear so much of unfaithful agents) that "a great wealth of intellect, energy and fidelity is devoted to the service of corporations by their officers and directors." It is significant likewise that in all times, governments out of sympathy with those they ruled have regarded corporations with dislike and fear.

President Eliot is, to our mind, less successful in making out that, as a rule, "American communities have been very moderate in borrowing, and . . . pay their public debts more promptly than any state under the rule of a despot or a class has ever done"; nor can we fully assent to his conclusion that "as regards private property, a government by the many, for the many, is more to be trusted than any other form of government." In both cases we suspect him of generalizing from partial and insufficient information. We can scarcely credit him with the minute information regarding the financial history of our innumerable towns and counties (to say nothing of cities and states), and the voluminous and constantly modified legislation of all parts of the Union, which could alone justify these sweeping assertions. Indeed, he appears to us somewhat prone to over-statement. Surely it is too much to say: "Government by one and government by a few have been tried through many centuries, . . . but *neither* has *ever* succeeded—not even in England—in producing a *reasonably* peaceful, secure and also happy society." The italics are, of course, ours, but they only emphasize the obvious exaggeration of this language. Mr. Eliot is likewise altogether too dogmatic when he says: "Oligarchies call themselves aristocracies, but government by the few has *never really* been government by the best"; and again, "*All experience, both ancient and modern*, shows that when the few rule, they do not attend to the interest of the many." Such blemishes are the more to be